

## **Gospels and Gospel Traditions in the Second Century**

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## **Volume 235**

# **Gospels and Gospel Traditions in the Second Century**

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Experiments in Reception

Edited by

Jens Schröter, Tobias Nicklas and Joseph Verheyden

In collaboration with Katharina Simunovic

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## Preface

This volume is based on papers presented at the Sixth International Conference of the Leuven Centre for the Study of the Gospels, Leuven, 15–17 December 2016. The idea of the conference was to bring together experts on the early Gospel tradition, especially of the second century, to discuss texts which rely in one or another way on earlier Gospels and Gospel traditions and at the same time provide fresh interpretations of the figure of Jesus, his activity and his teaching. The conference as well as the volume with the proceedings of the meeting are intended to contribute to the current debate about the fascinating world of second-century Christianity.

We are grateful to the contributors to the present volume for their participation in the conference, their enduring interest in the topic and the preparation of their papers for publication. A special gratitude is due to Katharina Simunovic, Florian Lengle and Katharina Vetter from the Theologische Fakultät der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin who prepared the manuscript for publication and compiled the indexes. Finally, we want to thank the publishing house Walter de Gruyter for taking care of the publication process of the volume in the BNZW series.

August 2018, Jens Schröter, Tobias Nicklas and Joseph Verheyden





# Introduction

In recent years the second century has enjoyed a growing interest from scholars working in the field of early Christianity as well as from New Testament scholars.<sup>1</sup> It has been understood as an important and fascinating period for the reception, the transformation and the reinterpretation of the earliest Christian writings, but also for the development of the rituals, ethics and social structure of early Christian communities. By looking more closely at this period, however, the concept of “the second century” has itself become the object of further scrutiny. “The second century” is to some degree an artificial notion. Scholars remain divided on the status and importance of this time-span, not at least with regard to the evidence that can be gained from it. The same applies, of course, to such designations as “the apostolic age”, “the post-apostolic era”, “Urchristentum”, “early Christianity” and the like. All these designations are used side by side in order to come to terms with the developments that shaped this formative period of Christianity. This highlights that there is always a need to discuss the appropriateness of such concepts when it comes to establish the date or study the contents and religious outlook of specific texts and their place in the literary and social history of the first centuries of Christianity.

There is today a widespread agreement that, as a concept, the second century cannot be understood in a strictly chronological sense. It is a period in which some of the writings which later became part of the New Testament were composed, but also such writings that much later were included into a collection called “The Apostolic Fathers”, and others which are often labelled as “non-canonical” or “apocryphal”. It should also be kept in mind that often there are no clear-cut boundaries between “Judaism”, “Christianity”, “Gnosticism” and related categories when it comes to second (and third) century texts.<sup>2</sup> However, there are aspects which might be referred to as characterizations

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1 See e.g. most recently: James Carleton Paget and Judith Lieu (ed.), *Christianity in the Second Century. Themes and Developments* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017).

2 The model of a “parting(s) of the ways” of Jews and Christians (see James D.G. Dunn, *The Partings of the Ways between Christianity and Judaism and their Significance for the Character of Christianity* [London: SCM Press, 2006]; id. [ed.], *Jews and Christians. The Parting of the Ways A.D. 70 to 135* [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1992]) was called into question in more recent research. See Judith Lieu, “‘The Parting of the Ways’: Theological Construct or Historical Reality?” *JSNT* 56 (1994): 101–119; ead., *Neither Jew nor Greek? Constructing Early Christianity* [London: T&T Clark, 2002] 11–29; Tobias Nicklas, *Jews and Christians? Second Century ‘Christian’ Perspectives on the ‘Parting of the Ways’* (Annual Deichmann Lectures 2013; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014); Adam H. Becker/A. Yoshiko Reed (ed.), *The Ways that Never Parted. Jews and Christians in late*

of a period running from the time when Christian faith was first formulated as a distinct view on the God of Israel and his revelation in Jesus Christ up to a stage in which organizational structures of the Christian communities, rituals like baptism and Eucharist and the formulation of central Christian beliefs were solidified.

These (and other) processes, however, should not be regarded as a continuous development towards a “consolidation” of “the’ Christian church”. Rather, the second century is characterized by the diversification of Christianity into various strands, a complex relationship of Christianity and Judaism, social formations of different kinds<sup>3</sup> and a broad and diverse reception of philosophical (esp. Platonic) traditions and Jewish texts which were incorporated into thought systems or myths. The second century may therefore be described as a mere transition period between “the founding years” and the far better documented later centuries, a time of experiments in which much was still possible that would become impossible somewhat later and that seems to escape our attempts at getting grip on it: the decades in which Christianity really opened up to the wider world – the second century is all of this, and perhaps even more. Maybe one should even say that it is all of this at the same time, depending on what one is looking for. If anything, it was a period in which major shifts took place and a period that itself has shifted faces over time.

The old divide that basically tried to rein in the writings that would end up in the New Testament to the first century, or the first decade of the second at most (the apostolic era), and considered all that followed as “postapostolic” has been under fire for years now, and a number of writings that seemed to be secured for the first century are now spreading all over the first half of the second century (e.g., 2 Peter, perhaps also the Pastorals). With regard to the textual transmission of these earliest writings, a vocal minority has defended the view that the second century was the period of “everything goes”. The written tradition had not yet taken over in the way this would become the case from the third century on; indeed, it looks as if that tradition was itself still in its formative stage and few authors seemed to care about how they cited or referred to the gospels or the letters of Paul. The confidence with which the latter pleaded his case before the political authorities was but a first try and seemed almost am-

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*Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003). For a more recent attempt to define “Gnosticism” see David Brakke, *The Gnostics. Myth, Ritual, and Diversity in Early Christianity* (Cambridge, Mass./London: Harvard University Press, 2010).

<sup>3</sup> As second and third century texts demonstrate, Christian communities were mixed groups, consisting of Jewish and Gentile members, people of different professions and diverse social status.

ateurish when compared to how the apologists of the mid and late second century addressed the emperor in person. The picture of the loss of the original unity of the Church in the second century as created by second-century authors (Hegesippus, also Justin Martyr) and picked up by later Christian authors (Eusebius of Caesarea) is today no longer accepted, but it remains valid in so far as it points out that this century saw happen the first major breaks and disturbances within the Church to an extent that Paul's quarrels with his opponents did not even foreshadow. In contrast with this, or perhaps as a result of it, the second century also witnesses the rise of the first "strong" bishops or community leaders, keen on showing their power (moral and managerial) and models and forerunners of some of the heroic figures of later times. The same period also brought us the first attempts at systematizing basic aspects of Christian theology, but perhaps even more so, at exploring more radical approaches to the basic questions this theology raises. There are not just Ignatius' shadowy opponents, docetists or not, or Marcion, whatever he actually did, or Tatian, showing a similar urge for doing away with differences, or "conservative" Jewish-Christian groups, but then also those partially elusive Gnostics, who raised the alarms all through developing mainstream milieus. When looking at the evidence listed here and trying to define this "century" in terms of periodization, it is perhaps best to call the second century a short century, the starting point of which has become more diffuse than it may have been up to now, while its closing end is perhaps already to be situated in the last two decades when such figures as Irenaeus and Tertullian start showing the way beyond their own time.

The picture evoked here may give the impression that the second century is what one makes of it. This is definitely not the case, and nor is it a black hole that absorbs everything that comes near to it. The second century has a face, or better: multiple ones, as has any other century that had preceded or would follow. The problem is that these faces unfortunately are perhaps a bit too well hidden behind the scarfs of time. But that makes it fascinating material for continued study.

Against this background, the Sixth International Conference of the Leuven Centre for the Study of the Gospels (Leuven, 15–17 December 2016) focused especially on the development, transmission and reception of Gospel literature of this period. "Gospel" is thereby understood in a broad sense, including texts which refer to the earthly activity of Jesus, his teaching, his passion and resurrection as well as his post-Easter appearances. As is well known, at the turn of the second and third century Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria and Origen referred to the "four gospels of the church" and defended that number against

other gospels that were also in circulation in Christian communities.<sup>4</sup> The collection of these gospels probably originated in the first half of the second century and forms a “sub-collection” of the emerging New Testament canon. There is ample evidence, however, that since the second half of the second century, perhaps even earlier,<sup>5</sup> many other gospels were produced and circulated in Christian communities. The Four-Gospel-Collection or the “Fourfold Gospel”, as Irenaeus puts it, developed within a growing number of other gospels, which sometimes were labelled “apocryphal” by early Christian theologians and eventually did not get canonical status. The relationship of the “four gospels of the church” to the other gospels was therefore a matter of dispute in early Christianity. Even though it remains to be discussed whether the differentiation between “canonical” and “apocryphal” gospels – or: gospels that became “canonical” and such that were rejected as “apocryphal” or “forged”<sup>6</sup> – was promoted/proposed/defended by Irenaeus and others only at the end of the second century or is rooted in earlier developments,<sup>7</sup> there can be no doubt that the number of gospels from the second (and third) century demonstrates a great variety of receptions of Jesus, his teaching, his passion and resurrection and his relationship to God and to the world. In more recent research it was emphasized more than once that the non-canonical gospels did not just quote or re-interpret earlier gospels but should instead be regarded as re-enactments (“Neuinszenierungen”) of the meaning and activity of Jesus.

In the present volume several aspects of this discussion are dealt with. Some of the contributions study the treatment of gospels by Justin, Marcion, and Irenaeus; others look at specific developments, e.g. the textual transmission, the emergence and use of the so-called “Agrapha” or the conflation techniques used by Justin and the author of 2 Clement; a third group of essays deals with particular second-century gospels, *such as* the *Epistula Apostolorum*, the Gospel of Thomas and the Gospel of Philip (though the commonly accepted dating of the latter is rejected by the author of this article). Some of the authors approach the topic from a more general, systematic perspective in developing a more detailed

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<sup>4</sup> See Irenaeus, *Haer.*, 3:11:7–9; Clement, *Strom.* 3:93:1; Origen, *Hom. in Luc.* 1:1.

<sup>5</sup> The dating of early Christian gospel texts is a thorny issue. However, there is sufficient evidence to date texts like the *Epistula Apostolorum*, the Gospel of Thomas and the Gospel of Philip to the second century.

<sup>6</sup> Dieter Lührmann has introduced the terminology of gospels that became apocryphal or canonical. Cf. id., *Die apokryph gewordenen Evangelien. Studien zu neuen Texten und zu neuen Fragen*, NTS 112 (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2004).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Francis Watson, *Gospel Writing. A Canonical Perspective* (Grand Rapids, Mich./Cambridge, U.K.: Eerdmans 2013).

picture of “Gnostic exegesis” or in asking how second century gospels treat their *Vorlagen*. It is the aim of the present volume to contribute to the ongoing debate about second century gospels in bringing together various aspects of relevance for the interpretation of these gospels, their relationship to earlier gospels and their place within the literary and theological development of early Christianity.

Jens Schröter, Tobias Nicklas, Joseph Verheyden



James Keith Elliott

## Greek New Testament Papyri and their Text in the Second-Third Centuries

Any examination of how the four Gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke and John were received, read, understood and copied in the second and third centuries ought to look at what has survived in our current extant fund of papyri that may reasonably be dated as having been written then.

Looking at only second-century witnesses would yield few results as only six manuscripts survive from that time, although they are obviously to be treasured, coming from a period close to the original dates of composition. We note that the earliest Gospel manuscripts are: P52 probably our oldest manuscript of the New Testament extant, dated c.150; P64/P67 c.200; P77/P103 second-third century; P66 200; P90 and P104 second-third century. Our oldest papyrus P52, although surviving in only one fragment about the size of a plastic credit card, nonetheless contains four verses in John 18 and – significantly – these are written on *both* sides of the fragment, implying not just a Christian provenance (being from a codex, a format preferred by the nascent church from this early date) but probably also that the verses came from a complete Gospel rather than their being a chance survival of a mere citation or coming from a commentary or both.

However, a fair number of manuscripts exist today that may be dated from the following century. As we all know, the dating of ancient writings is not an infallible science but we may be reasonably confident that the dates assigned to papyri and other manuscripts in Nestle-Aland, *Novum Testamentum Graece* 28<sup>th</sup> edition (hereafter = NA28) are now generally agreed upon by experts. None of our Gospel witnesses carries a date or any external evidence of its period of composition. Instead, palaeographers make comparative studies of matters such as handwriting and the ways in which certain Greek letters were conventionally written at fixed and known periods; such studies are made more precise by a comparison with any documents that carry a date. We must allow a margin of error of datings by professional palaeographers of +/- 25 years. But, sometimes, disagreements between experts can allow bigger discrepancies.<sup>1</sup> Appendix 1 below gives the likeliest manuscripts one may consult.

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<sup>1</sup> It may well be that two of the papyri that feature below, namely P45 and P75 (the latter sold to the Vatican by the Bodmer library in 2006), are not third century at all. Those two witnesses contain more than one Gospel. Recently, some scholars have discussed the later dating of P66 or P75: Brent Nongbri, "Reconsidering the Place of Papyrus Bodmer XIV-XV (P75) in the Textual

Of the papyri catalogued and registered, the highest numbered papyrus is presently P127, but that does not indicate that we actually have 127 separate and relevant New Testament Greek manuscripts on papyrus; some papyri were incorrectly registered: P64 and P67 are now seen to belong to one manuscript to be known as P64. (The number P67 may now be jettisoned) cf. also P11 = P14 or P33 = P58. Some witnesses should perhaps never have been given a Gregory(-Aland) (= GA) number in the first place, as they are not continuous text manuscripts. P12 and P80 (see below) could well have been amulets – admittedly these are an important source of witness to the early text but such items should never be registered alongside ‘normal’ continuous-text witnesses. Likewise P99, a Graeco-Latin glossary, ought not to be in the *Liste*.

Appendix 1 also includes the contents of the manuscripts conventionally given second-third century dates. There then follows in a footnote a short list of manuscripts commonly dated fourth-fifth century. To be particularly fastidious, given the uncertainty of many of our datings, one should probably examine *all* their readings in the belief that some could also qualify as witnesses to the Gospel texts circulating in our chosen centuries. (I have not done so here.)

The lists below (in Appendix I a, b, c) show that it is, of course, impossible to use the second-third century evidence for the whole of the four Gospels. Most of the manuscripts are very small and badly damaged or very fragmentary and so many chapters from the Gospels have disappeared. Appendix I d, e show the rough parameters of the contents available to us.

All attempts to re-create the text of any one manuscript, even consulting only allegedly constant witnesses in an *apparatus criticus*, are chimeric and are doomed to failure. Generally, we may assume throughout that in a negative *apparatus criticus* where only deviant readings are displayed, the witnesses *not* cited agree with the running text, but in many instances caution is urged as that supposition may often be wrong. For instance, editors of a printed Greek New Testament need to reach a decision over how proper names like Moses, David and Ιωαν(ν)ης must appear in their running text. But such matters do not necessarily accept the conventional spellings located in any one manuscript, how-

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Criticism of the New Testament,” *JBL* 135 (2016): 405–437; *id.*, “The Limits of Palaeographic Dating of Literary Papyri: Some Observations on the Date and Provenance of P. Bodmer II (P66),” *Museum Helveticum* 71 (2014): 1–35; *id.*, “The Use and Abuse of P52: Papyrological Pitfalls in the Dating of the Fourth Gospel,” *HTR* 98 (2015): 23–48; Pasquale Orsini, “I papiri Bodmer: scrittura e libri,” *Adamantius* 21 (2015), 60–78; see also Hugo Lundhaug (with Lance Janott), *The Monastic Origins of the Nag Hammadi Codices*, STAC 97 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2015) and cf. Lundhaug in the present book. These all suggest a later date for these texts. However, the balance of probability remains that P45 and P75 are indeed third century.



ever 'constant' it be, but these seldom affect our judgements on the *Ausgangstext*. They may, however, aid decisions on where and when such a spelling may have originated or been popular.

Appendix 2 is a brief survey of the relevant manuscripts' readings, generally easily located and extracted from the *apparatus criticus* of NA28. I look at readings where each second-third century papyrus has a text with a variant and these are usually the first recorded references to such a reading. To do the work properly one should examine an *apparatus* fuller than that in our hand editions, e.g. Legg (for all his shortcomings) in Matthew and in Mark, the IGNTP Luke which I edited for the press, and what has emerged from the team behind IGNTP John for the Fourth Gospel.

I have also identified some – but certainly not all – of those readings peculiar to one witness. Such singular (or sub-singular) readings are readily identifiable and these have been important in Royse's publications.<sup>2</sup> In many cases singular readings, especially in, say, P66 which is prone to idiosyncratic errors, are best dismissed as casual and unselfconscious slips by a scribe whose errors of this type may tell us more about his abilities and carelessness regarding the original reading and little about a significantly important variant from that date. P66\* should probably be ignored when balanced by the selfsame scribe's corrections (and marked as P66<sup>c</sup> in an *apparatus*). The scribe of P66\*, for all his original carelessness and faulty transcribing, seems to have checked his own writing rather as a diorthotes did. Hence, he corrected his original and often idiosyncratic text. From the point of an *apparatus criticus* only P66<sup>c</sup> should stand – P66\* is relevant only if we were studying this manuscript alone to explore, as Royse did, the scribe's particular characteristics. There is thus no need for P66\* to appear in an *apparatus*.

Accepting the dates in NA 28 Appendix 1 we note that there are about fifty-four papyri fragments – including a few sizable remains – among our fund of manuscripts from the second-third century. From these about half of them include parts from the four Gospels. To those papyri we also include majuscule 0171 – but not 0212. This latter is part of a diatessaronic text and, as such, may be especially important and interesting, given recent work on that fragment but of course our concentration here is on how the New Testament's four separate and separated Gospels were read in the earliest Christian centuries, or –

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<sup>2</sup> James R. Royse, *Scribal Habits in Early Greek New Testament Papyri*, NTTSD 36 (Leiden: Brill, 2008); *id.*, "The Treatment of Scribal Leaps in Metzger's Textual Commentary," *NTS* 29 (1983): 539–551; *id.*, "Scribal Habits in the Transmission of New Testament Texts," in *The Critical Study of Sacred Texts*, ed. Wendy Doniger O'Flaherty (Berkeley Religious Studies Series II, Berkeley: Graduate Theological Union, 1979), 139–161.

rather – what was available at that time.<sup>3</sup> 0212 was an attempt to reconcile the stories and sayings in all *four* Gospels<sup>4</sup> – but at least we should deduce from the existence of the Diatessaron – or “Tatian’s Gospel”<sup>5</sup> (eventually to be found in many languages) that its creation and existence were precisely because *all* four Gospels that later became part of the New Testament were already in circulation and regarded as authoritative writings in many Christian communities.

In textual criticism the dates assigned to manuscripts are not a guide to their place in the history of a text or to its reliability. We need to know from every surviving manuscript what changes were introduced at each copying but no-one can answer such questions. In any case, a very early manuscript, especially one written prior to the time the text was declared canonical and authoritative, is unlikely to be aiming to produce Holy Scripture in an inviolable form. Thoroughgoing textual criticism, a methodology which I espouse, seldom takes note of the age of a witness as being of particular importance. We may legitimately ask: Is the age of a manuscript ever significant? G. D. Kilpatrick,<sup>6</sup> following H. J. Vogels, maintained that all deliberate textual changes would have been made prior to the establishing of the canon. In the case of the four Gospels that is likely to have been by the end of the second century.

In assessing the direction of flow from variant to variant, current practice turns us towards the so-called Coherence Based Genealogical Method, CBGM, devised in and now promoted by the Münster Institute. A judgement may be that the unwieldy CBGM is a sledgehammer to crack a nut that resulted in a measly and derisory thirty-three or thirty-four changes from the ECM of the Catholic Epistles I of 1997–2005 to its second edition in 2013.<sup>7</sup> Those changes may now of

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3 David C. Parker, David G.K. Taylor and Mark S. Goodacre, “The Dura-Europos Gospel Harmony,” in *Studies in the Early Text of the Gospel and Acts*, ed. David G.K. Taylor (T&S 3.1, Birmingham: The University of Birmingham Press, 1999), 192–228.

4 Maybe even extra-canonical texts or a fifth Gospel source were used in preparing the Diatessaron.

5 See Francis Watson, “Towards a Redaction-Critical Reading of the Diatessaron,” *EC* 7 (2016): 95–112. Watson regards Tatian’s writing as a gospel in its own right, rather than as a harmony of the four Gospels that later became canonical.

6 Heinrich J. Vogels, *Handbuch der Textkritik des Neuen Testaments* (Bonn: Hanstein, second edition 1955), 162, cited *inter alia* by George Dunbar Kilpatrick, “Atticism and the Text of the Greek New Testament,” in *Neutestamentliche Aufsätze*, ed. Josef Blinzler, Otto Kuss and Franz Mußner (Regensburg: Pustet, 1963), 125–137 and reproduced in *The Principles and Practice of New Testament Textual Criticism: Collected Essays of G.D. Kilpatrick*, ed. J.K. Elliott (BETL 96, Leuven: Leuven University Press and Peeters, 1990), 15–32.

7 Thirty-three according to NA28 pp. 50\*–51\*; thirty-four in the second edition of the ECM Catholic Epistles II pp. 35\*–36\* which includes James 1:22 that also re-appears in its “Split Guiding (sic) Lines” p. 37\*.

course be observed in NA28 (in its Introduction p.48\*). In fact the ubiquitous rhombus found in the Catholic Epistles now indicates further modifications over and above the thirty-three/ thirty-four textual changes. The rhombus presents parallel and equal texts because of editorial indecisiveness after the application of CBGM. In the ECM proper the rhombus refers to split lines of parallel and equal text in the running line. Work is currently underway on Acts, John and Revelation, again using CBGM, and so we may expect to see comparable changes in the ECM fascicules of these works and, as a result, in NA editions of the future. Ultimately of course, the method will be applied to the whole New Testament. Papyri will play their part, as too will other majuscules and a selection of minuscules. Papyri will not be privileged – nor ought they ever to be. The listing of papyri in introductory matter to printed editions and in the *apparatus criticus* in the footnotes to pages of text strike us first before we encounter uncials (majuscules) on parchment; and those precede minuscules and lectionary manuscripts. All of this implies a pecking-order in a descending sequence of importance. This gives papyri a false and misleading prominence, which is undeserved.

## 1 The Four-Fold Gospel Canon

If we accept the conventional datings of P45 and P75 then these manuscripts provide proof that more than one of the canonical Gospels were bound together early. However, most papyri contain only a part of one Gospel. In this context we constantly look to Irenaeus, who vigorously defended a four-fold Gospel canon. The parallels he drew with the four winds are well known as too is his analogy with Revelation, although Ezekiel proves the more likely source.<sup>8</sup> Whether Irenaeus was establishing the practice of allowing four – neither *more than four* to exclude, say, the apocryphal Gospel of Thomas, nor *fewer than four* to include Mark – is unknown. It strikes me more likely that Irenaeus was fortifying with many arguments, some admittedly strained or specious, a practice that had already been established, but one which was in need of defence and proof.

The few folios of P45 show that this manuscript contained all four Gospels. As a codex, a format favoured by early Christianity, this is not insignificant. It is highly probable that the codex was adopted for the Gospels precisely to obey Ire-

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<sup>8</sup> Theodore C. Skeat, "Irenaeus and the Four-Gospel Canon," *NovT* 34 (1992): 194–199; reproduced in *The Collected Biblical Writings of T.C. Skeat*, ed. J.K. Elliott (Supplements to *Novum Testamentum* 113, Leiden: Brill, 2004), 73–78.

naeus' instruction. A codex can easily hold the four. All four could not have been contained on one (sc)roll.<sup>9</sup>

P75 contains the last six lines of Luke followed by a subscription. There then follows immediately on the same page the superscription to the Fourth Gospel and its opening words. This is clear evidence that the four originally independent and free-standing Gospels were not only bound together but that here in P75 they were written in sequence regardless of page breaks.

It is always dangerous to build arguments from silence but it seems possible that each of the separated Gospels found in extant early papyri may well have formed part of a four-fold collection read and used by their owners. With the exception of P75 all of the extant fragments of papyri contain neither the beginnings nor endings of a Gospel, so we cannot see if *any* other text (canonical or not) was originally literally attached to a fellow-Gospel.

Obviously there was an attraction to owning all four as separated texts. Popular texts read and regularly used would require more frequent rewriting and replacement than lesser used texts. Again, the chance survival of the papyri we possess and which I set out in Appendix 1 shows that John was the most popular Gospel, and (not surprisingly) Mark was the least popular. Perhaps John was more popular in areas where Gnosticism was at its strongest, there being closer relations between these ultimately "heretical" and fringe books and the Fourth Gospel. Nevertheless, it is likely that a Christian in, say, Oxyrhynchus could well have owned all four Gospels albeit as four separated scrolls but then, once the codex form became normal, to possess all four in book form.

Also, we ought not forget the date and origin of the ubiquitous "Canon Tables" popularised by Eusebius (260 – 349 A.D.) who in his covering letter to Carpianus claims to be elaborating a system originated by Ammonius (175 – 242 A.D.) designed to be a primitive synopsis of the four Gospels. The so-called "canon tables" show reference tables to parallels in the *four Gospels* of Matthew, Mark, Luke and John. (Obviously, Canon X shows Sondergut in each of the four Gospels separately. The rest of the Canons show all parallels in every viable and

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<sup>9</sup> See Theodore C. Skeat, "The Oldest Manuscript of the Four Gospels?," *NTS* 43 (1997): 1–34; reprinted in *The Collected Biblical Writings of T.C. Skeat*, ed. J.K. Elliott (Supplements to Novum Testamentum 113, Leiden: Brill, 2004), 158–192. He argued that this was the earliest extant form of (originally) a four Gospel codex. P4 contains Lk; P64 = P67 has Matthew. Not all subsequent scholars have accepted Skeat's judgement, not least because P4 is not universally seen as part of P64/P67; see e.g. Peter M. Head, "Is P4, P64 and P67 the Oldest Manuscript of the Four Gospels? A response to T.C. Skeat," *NTS* 51 (2005): 450–457; Scott D. Charlesworth, "T.C. Skeat, P64+67 and P4 and the Problem of Fibre Orientation in Codicological Reconstruction," *NTS* 53 (2007): 582–604.

relevant combination.) The Ethiopic Garima Gospels of c. 350+ has the “canon tables” – even though the numberings may occasionally be badly transcribed and are misleading and wrong.<sup>10</sup> Such proof, however, shows the existence of the four-fold Gospels from an early time.<sup>11</sup>

Why Mark was ever preserved, defended and included by Irenaeus and ultimately was always one of the four canonical Gospels is interesting. In the most popular solution to the Synoptic Problem nearly all the contents of Mark are said to have been used and reproduced in either Matthew or Luke or both. Clearly, Mark seems not to have been regularly quoted or commented on by Church Fathers but the fact Mark was remembered as the interpreter of St. Peter, in itself would have guaranteed his Gospel a permanent place among the others.<sup>12</sup>

Synoptic Gospel studies in recent times are concerned with plotting the literary interdependence of our first three Gospels, usually arguing that Matthew and Luke indeed used their knowledge of Mark in writing their own Gospels. But whatever ‘solution’ one may prefer to explain the similarities in and differences between the Gospels of Matthew, Mark and Luke each requires one or two Gospels to lie behind the later Gospel(s). Any *addenda* and *corrigenda* by the later writer(s) implies no disrespect for an earlier Gospel, rather the opposite; an attempt to improve on an existing Gospel was because its message was too important for later readers to accept and merely repeat verbatim. Luke’s Preface also makes such an intention crystal clear in Luke 1:1–4.

In a similar way, the apocryphal Gospels from the second century onwards had such respect for the earlier apostolic creations that they reflected fellow-Christians’ desires to expand and fill in perceived gaps in the canonical stories. That is why the Protevangelium tells us further stories about Jesus’ parentage and his birth, and why the apocryphal Gospels of Peter and of Nicodemus retell the Passion narrative in new ways and why the Gospel of Thomas expands our stock of Jesus’ sayings. It is not that the later readers and the writers of the apocryphal tales about Mary, Joseph and Jesus found the earlier Gospels writing in-

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**10** Judith S. McKenzie and Francis Watson, *The Garima Gospels: Early Illuminated Gospel Books from Ethiopia* (Manar Al-Athar Monograph 3, Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2016).

**11** See for example Bruce M. Metzger and Bart D. Ehrman, *The Text of the New Testament* 4<sup>th</sup> edition (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 38–39, and Carl Nordenfalk, “The Eusebian Canon Tables: Some Textual Problems,” *JTS* 35 (1984): 96–104.

**12** Obviously it was only in the nineteenth century that focus was being paid by the likes of Lachmann and Holtzmann to the possibility that Mark’s was the first of the four Gospels to have been written. It was only comparatively recently (i.e. 1924) when Burnett H. Streeter in his *The Four Gospels* popularised the theory of the priority of Mark to English readers. That theory firmly guarantees Markan pre-eminence. Many a modern study shows Mark’s primitive language and style.

correct, merely that they were wanting in certain details; later generations liked to know more about the characters, events and teachings behind those texts. A living text always wants more.<sup>13</sup>

Possibly the unintended use that the separated independent Gospels could have served to undermine Irenaeus' arguments and church practice may have been a reason why the huge, unwieldy, expensive de-luxe and, therefore, inevitably rare, instances of complete New Testaments and even complete Bibles in Greek were created. Volumes such as Codex Sinaiticus and Codex Vaticanus of the fourth century were produced to demonstrate which books were then allowed into the Christians' canon of authorised, canonical scripture.<sup>14</sup> The establishment of the official Christian canon seems finally to have been settled by ecclesiastical authorities East and West by the fourth century – precisely the date of these early pandects (if such a term may be used of the Greek text) containing the full contents of both Old Testament and New Testament. It is significant, therefore, that our study here looks at witnesses dated prior to manuscripts such as Sinaiticus and Vaticanus.

## 2 The Case of Oxyrhynchus and the Reading Matter of Second-Third Century Christians

Whatever conclusion(s) are to be drawn about variants found in second-third century papyri that contain the Gospels, we must acknowledge that all these witnesses come from a limited time and geographical area, Egypt, and predominantly the spoil heaps of Oxyrhynchus, which may not be representative of all texts circulating at that time. However, it must always be borne in mind that

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<sup>13</sup> It is significant to note the subtitle to *New Testament Apocrypha: More Noncanonical Scriptures*, ed. Tony Burke and Brent Landau (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2016).

<sup>14</sup> Four early books, now labelled The Apostolic Fathers, are included (possibly reluctantly, as they appear almost as appendixes) in Codex Alexandrinus and Codex Sinaiticus (1 & 2 Clement; The Epistle of Barnabas and The Shepherd of Hermas respectively). Such inclusions proved transient. No later collections of canonical texts included them nor, interestingly, are any of the so-called apocryphal writings bound into early Gospel papyri like P45, P75, but see the so-called miscellaneous Bodmer papyrus where numerous non-canonical texts are bound alongside the canonical Catholic Epistles of Jude and 1&2 Peter (where they are numbered P72 in GA); see Tommy Wasserman, "Papyrus 72 and the *Bodmer Miscellaneous Codex*," *NTS* 51 (2005): 137–154. But we are looking here at the Catholic Epistles which were less popular in the early church and which sometimes had difficulties in being included in canonical New Testament manuscripts. These texts are not 'run-ons' in the "miscellaneous" codex, that is they were merely bound together, suggesting that the compiler treated all as "friends and associates".

manuscripts which happen to be located and found in, say, Egypt may in theory (and in practice) have come from and originated in *any* Christian lands.

To judge by their simple appearance few papyri texts would have been prestige editions for public display. Many must have been for private reading and were discarded when they became unreadable or blemished. Hence our many finds in the spoil heaps of Oxyrhynchus. This was a throwaway society, to adopt a modern term. The sheer numbers of Gospels discarded presumably show that a replacement copy rendered the earlier exemplars ripe for jettisoning. More significantly, Oxyrhynchus seems to have been a literate society; not only were Christian texts salvaged from the rubbish heaps – canonical and apocryphal – but a wide range of Greek authors from Homer onwards.<sup>15</sup>

The Oxyrhynchus New Testament manuscripts have many variants. Most of these are representatives of a wide range of so-called text-types of many differing provenances and dates, as may be seen in my tiny sample in Appendix 2. Those facts demonstrate that our chance selection from Oxyrhynchus happens to share readings now known to us from throughout later Christianity, West and East – Constantinople, Rome, North Africa etc. Epp demonstrated that, although many early texts were indeed found in one small pocket of early Christendom, namely, Egypt in general and Oxyrhynchus in particular, these witnesses do not reflect a distinctive text peculiar to the location where they were recently found.<sup>16</sup> Wide transference of texts throughout Christianity from the earliest dates was commonplace (cf. the sharing of Paul's letters from the 50s). The imperial postal service was brisk and efficient. The intermarriage of witnesses had already begun by the second century and is amply demonstrated here. One conclusion is that no one manuscript from Oxyrhynchus (or indeed from anywhere else at this or any other time) demonstrates any wilful carelessness or deliberate editing in transcribing the holy texts of early Christianity.

We began by showing that there are more manuscripts from the third century compared with those from the second. That may merely be due to the sheer chance of survival or be the expected results that more survives from a later century than from an earlier date. Or may we deduce something about Christian demographics from such survivals? Evidence from Oxyrhynchus shows it to have possessed a vibrant Graeco-Roman Christianity from the early centuries,

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<sup>15</sup> See Peter Parsons, *City of the Sharp-Nosed Fish* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 2007) especially chapter 9.

<sup>16</sup> For example, Eldon J. Epp, "New Testament Papyrus Manuscripts and Letter Carrying in Greco-Roman Times," in *The Future of Early Christianity*, ed. Birger A. Pearson *et al.* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press 1991), 35–56, reproduced in Eldon J. Epp, *Perspectives on New Testament Textual Criticism: Collected Essays 1962–2004* NovTSup 116 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 383–409.



with many churches and monasteries. Letters from Christians have been recovered from the spoil heaps in Oxyrhynchus which include names of writers and modes of address that are unambiguously Christian. Distinctively Christian greetings are also to be seen.<sup>17</sup>

Changes to a New Testament would have been made to enhance the text at all ages and we shall see in Appendix 2 that this continued into the late Middle Ages. Lorenzo Valla in the mid-fifteenth century and Jacques Lefèvre in the early sixteenth both influenced Erasmus, whose motive in translating the New Testament for his 1516 bi-lingual, Greek-Latin, testament, was, confessedly, to enhance the clarity of the text for his contemporaries, especially for the benefit of Christian believers. At least 80 %, maybe more reasonably 90 %, of the Biblical text is the same in all manuscripts whatever their age. However, where deliberate change occurs, the variants are usually highly important and significant. All deliberate changes by scribes may be described as conjectural emendations by the scribe or the community commissioning his work. “Conjectural emendation” is of course a term used to describe textual guesses by modern scholars (mainly originating in the Low Countries). But whether ancient or modern, such changes were made to enhance, clarify or amplify the likely meaning and intention of the Biblical authors. None were wilful rewritings from a maverick author.

The history of our printed editions reveals the dominance of the so-called Byzantine text-type which survived from Erasmus’ first edition of 1516 through to Westcott and Hort. Erasmus’ 1516 edition was followed by many other famous editions under the names of editors or printers such as Colinaeus, Stephanus, Beza and the Elzeviers. The common text from 1516 to 1881 is generally known as the *Textus Receptus*. From Westcott and Hort’s ground-breaking New Testament allegedly “in the original Greek” in 1881 editors have followed their example of establishing a text predominantly based on the readings of Codex Vaticanus and usually with the support of Sinaiticus. Thus the long-standing predominance of the Byzantine /majority text-type gave way to the text of two fourth-century witnesses. The distinctiveness of the readings of the papyri, all of which have been discovered since 1881, could now take us back a further two centuries, but, strangely, editors of the Nestle text and the United Bible Societies’ Greek New Testament have been reluctant to be influenced by these early witnesses, especially where they differ from ⲁB. Papyri, despite often bearing the earliest witnesses to the Gospel text, have barely influenced the printed text.

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17 Anne-Marie Luijendijk, *Greetings in the Lord: Early Christians and the Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2008).



I have no problem with such a result because I accept that the *Ausgangstext* (to use the current jargon) i.e. the earliest recoverable text, which is of course not always or necessarily that of the composer/ author, but is the text from which all our known variation is said to derive can appear in *any* manuscript whatever its age, provenance and allegiances. The earliest readings are not necessarily the best, authorial or the *Ausgangstext*. In many ways I approve of the editorial advice found in the Introduction to NA27 which states on pp. 45\*-46\*: “The purpose of the 27<sup>th</sup> edition remains the same as the 26<sup>th</sup> edition. It intends to provide the user with a well-founded working text together with the means of verifying it or alternatively of correcting it”.<sup>18</sup>

Conservatives and fundamentalists are misguided in their promotion of a given text: it is wrong to imply that only one version of the Scriptures is historically accurate. The New Testament was a living text and no one wording could be set in aspic or carved on stone to stand immutable and inviolable. Pious additions were made; divine names expanded so that an apparently bland and simple “Jesus” became, probably under liturgical influence, “Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ”. Other, often more fundamental changes also occurred.

Theologically significant variations are not hard to find: they occur in accounts of the Last Supper, the Ascension and in the titles of Jesus. Often the motives would have been a scribal conformity to a given theological party line. Some deliberate changes would have also been to conform Old Testament citations in the New Testament to a familiar (Septuagint) wording. Occasionally deliberate changes occurred to correct or improve the language or style, and to harmonize parallels.

Like most modern owners of a vernacular Bible (the AV, REB, NIV etc), those who read one version of the New Testament often do so as if it represented the true, changeless meanings of Matthew or Mark or Paul etc. Each owner and reader of a manuscript would similarly accept its text as original or correct, and, in general, would be ignorant of any alternative readings, whether such changes were created recently or not. Even D in Greek with its Latin side, d, are texts most different from other contemporary witnesses but D (Codex Bezae) is no re-writing in the way that, say, the *Epistola Apostolorum* was revealing its dissatisfaction with the teaching on Christ’s miracles or on his Resurrection. Uncial D may be an extreme example of clarifying the New Testament text but it is, nonetheless, orthodox and standard, even in the book exhibiting most *addenda*/ changes i.e. Acts. This manuscript’s changes in Acts amount to a text about one tenth longer (according to Metzger and Ehrman) but that figure could be

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18 Strangely, NA28 excludes such a helpful piece of advice to its readers.

too high a percentage.<sup>19</sup> What must be remembered is the fidelity with which scribes tried to copy the text accurately and meaningfully. Marcion too seemed to respect at least some of the New Testament, even if he were prepared to jettison much else as he wielded his metaphorical penknife. Even he had a respect for (some) earlier wording.

Obviously, as an increasing number of manuscripts is digitized and collated, a word, phrase, word-order, sentence or verse, hitherto seen as safe and unchanging may allow us to record a changed reading, thus rendering unsound an earlier judgement that a reading be safe. But my own impression and observation are that readings reported in newly read manuscripts usually merely add to our existing and known stock of manuscripts supporting this or that variant. Very few genuinely new readings are emerging.<sup>20</sup> Newly uncovered variants typically merely bolster an existing *apparatus*.

The familiar use of the term “text-type” is now being abandoned. We often baulk at terms like “Western” or “Alexandrian” to cover each known variant. This use of “text types” is outmoded, inappropriate and unnecessary. Such terminology has, wisely, been abandoned by the Münster Institute. It may have worked when fewer manuscripts were studied but now, with an increasing number of collations, such terminology is either restricted to small family trees or is wide and general, such as the “Byzantine/majority text-type”.

One examination that can also now be made (albeit one giving a ‘negative’ result) is to take any two papyri from the second-third century that share the same portion of text. Examples appear below in Appendix 2. But we see no consistency in agreement and often many of the very few agreements between any two papyri are accompanied by other early witnesses. There is no such thing as a distinctively unique second- or third-century text.

The *Epistola Apostolorum*, referred to above, and other rewritten parts of the New Testament were the consequences of their authors’ and sects’ finding fault with what became orthodox Christianity and its canonical scriptures. That in itself says something about the high respect and standing of the canonical Gospels even as early as 150 A.D., the likeliest date of the *Epistola Apostolorum*. Although the writers of the Gnostic Gospels, and the Gospel of Thomas, assuming that it was never truly Gnostic, as well as other deviant writings, disapproved of the earliest canonical Holy Writ, its widespread use, its known antiquity and the fidelity of copies made over many decades since its composition in the first cen-

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<sup>19</sup> Metzger (and Ehrman) in the 4<sup>th</sup> edition of their *The Text of the New Testament* p. 73.

<sup>20</sup> That is, excluding mere “Fehler” (to adopt Münster’s description in its ECM volumes) and orthographical changes and misspellings.

tury all show that our New Testament books were placed on a pedestal from an early date and certainly in the second century.

### 3 Singular and Sub-Singular Readings

The use of singular readings is to be assessed when one is examining scribal practices and the nature of each distinctive gospel. In an *apparatus criticus*, if an editor deems the manuscript with a singular reading to be one of his favourites and a ‘constantly cited witness’, it may be included, although it should have no significance for the *Ausgangstext*.

James Royse in his thesis referred to singular and even sub-singular readings (i.e. variants shared by two manuscripts or very few manuscripts) but where, because of the nature of the change, e.g. the accidental omission of a word or words due to an obvious parablepsis occasioned perhaps by homoioteleuton, coincidence may readily explain similar or identical changes in more than one witness.<sup>21</sup>

### 4 Apocrypha

The apocryphal writings, popular though some obviously became as the hundred Greek manuscripts of the *Protevangeliū Iacobi* testify (and also see the many manuscripts of the *de Nativitate Mariae* that have survived), as well as the translations over several centuries with even further expansions of some of the texts, clearly did not have the same wide geographical spread and endurance of the original four Gospels, a fact possibly encouraged by the orthodox teaching based on Irenaeus and certainly because of ecclesiastical disapprobation of the writings not normally included in a New Testament restricted to twenty-seven books.

As well as the works labelled “canonical” (to use an anachronistic term, rather than utilising a clumsy English phrase such as ‘books about to be styled canonical’ on the analogy of the neat and accurate German term, coined by Dieter Lührmann (“Die apokryph gewordenen Evangelien”<sup>22</sup>), the Oxyrhynchus spoil heaps yielded texts from the New Testament apocryphal writings and Classical

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<sup>21</sup> See note 2 above.

<sup>22</sup> Dieter Lührmann, *Die apokryph gewordenen Evangelien. Studien zu neuen Texten und zu neuen Fragen* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2004).

texts, as well as a host of secular ephemera, legal, personal and business accounts. Among the New Testament apocrypha are some hitherto unknown texts such as those located now numbered P.Oxy. 840 and P.Oxy. 1224 (and perhaps also P.Oxy. 1081) as well as fragments that belong to the Gospels of Thomas, of Peter, of Mary, the Apocalypse of Peter, the Acts of Peter, the Acts of Paul, the letters of Christ and Abgar and so on. All of this suggests that at least some of the Oxyrhynchite Christians had a wide reading base alongside the narrow and restrictive twenty-seven writings that formed the New Testament proper. We have no idea how middle-of-the-road believers viewed the so-called apocrypha. Insofar as statistics about the earliest Christian documents on papyrus are relevant, we repeat David G. Martinez's list that overall (i.e. not just from the second or third century) the Psalms were the most popular, followed by Matthew's Gospel and John's Gospel and then with Genesis and Exodus in the "Top Five".<sup>23</sup>

## 5 Fathers

NA28 and, even more so, the editions of the United Bible Societies' *Greek New Testament* contain a confusingly large array of Fathers' names in many an *apparatus*. The information is singularly useless to the reader. In any case, until we can apply a text-critical study to a patristic work and, at the very least, in those places where a Father seems to be citing a Biblical verse, the actual quotation and any variants within it are virtually valueless. We may justly be suspicious when consulting manuscripts of Greek Fathers that scribes of the patristic work tended to adjust Biblical references to the prevailing text of the middle-ages, predominantly the so-called Byzantine or majority text-type. Similarly, readers of Latin Fathers are alert to the fact that scribes often changed a biblical citation to the wording of Jerome's Vulgate. In commentary manuscripts where a catena or patristic commentary may accompany the running text we, again, need to sift carefully a lemma giving the Biblical text from the same or similar citation found within the adjoining patristic argument. Initially, I tend to find that patristic quotations may assist our *apparatus* to a Greek New Testament mainly to see if a Father supports variation between a long and a short version of the text.

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<sup>23</sup> David G. Martinez, "The Papyri and Early Christianity" in *The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology*, ed. Roger S. Bagnall (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 590–622 here p. 591.

## 6 Versions

Although in theory the earliest versions of the New Testament into Latin, Coptic and Syriac may precede our existing Greek witnesses, we need to be cautious when using the evidence; often, inner-versional variation ought to be discarded. In addition, many versional versions may not reflect an underlying Greek exemplar, especially where particles, word-order and even vocabulary are concerned. As with Fathers, the use of versional evidence within an *apparatus* may readily assist in its support of variants of longer v. shorter texts.

## Appendix 1

### Manuscripts

#### a) Second Century Papyri

P52

John 18:31–33; 37–38

P64+P67

Matthew 3:9.15; 5:20–22.25–28; 26:7–8.10.14–15.22–23.31–33

P66

John 1:16.11; 6:35–14:14.26; 14:29–30; 15:2–26; 16:2–26; 16:2–4.6–7; 16:10–20.20;  
20:22–23; 20:25–21:9

P77 (and P103)

Matthew 23:20–24.25–29

P90

John 18:36–19:1; 19:2–7

P103 (and P77)

Matthew 13:55–56; 14:2–5

P104

Matthew 21:34–37.43–45?

## b) Third Century Papyri<sup>24</sup>

P1

Matthew 1:1–9.12.14–20

P4 (cf. P64+P67)

Luke 1:58–59; 1:62–2:1; 2:6–7; 3:8–4:2; 4:29–32.34–35; 5:3–8; 5:30–6:16

P5

John 1:23–31.33–40; 16:14–30; 20:11–17.19–20.22–25

P22

John 15:25–16:2; 16:21–32

P28

John 6:8–12.17–22

P39

John 8:14–22

P45

Matthew 20:24–32; 21: 13–19; 25:41–26:39

Mark 4: 4:36–40; 5:15–26; 5:38–6:3; 6:16–25.36–50; 7:3–15; 7:25–8:1; 8:10–26;  
8:34–9:9; 9:18–31; 11:27–12:1; 12:5–8.13–19.24–28

Luke 6:31–41; 6:45–7:7; 9:26–41; 9:45–10:1; 10:6–22; 10:26–11:1; 11:6–25.28–46;  
11:50–12:12; 12:18–37; 12:42–13:1; 13:6–24; 13:29–14:10; 14:17–33

John 4:51–54; 5:21.24; 10:7–25; 10:30–11:10; 11:18–36.42–57

(and Acts)

P53

Matthew 26:29–35.36–40

(and Acts)

P69

Luke 22:41.45–48.58–6

P70

Matthew 2:13–16; 2:22–3:1; 11:26–27; 12:4–5; 24:3–6.12–15

P75 (according to information in NA28 against the *Kurzgefaßte Liste*)

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<sup>24</sup> The following is a list of manuscripts not used because these witnesses are given dates in the fourth or fifth century and are thus unlikely to be relevant for this survey: P6 (John); P7 (John); P19 (Matthew); P21 (Matthew); P25 (Matthew); P35 (Matthew); P37 (Matthew); P62 (Matthew); P71 (Matthew); P86 (Matthew); P88 (Mark); P102 (Matthew); P110 (Matthew); P120 (John); P122 (John). All are fragmentary.

Luke 3:18–22; 3:33–4:2; 4:34–5:10; 5:37–6:4; 6:10–7:32; 7:35–39.41–43; 7:46–9:2;  
9:4–17:15; 17:19–18:8; 22:4–53  
John 11:1–11:45; 11:48–57; 12:3–13:10; 14:8–15:10

P80<sup>25</sup>

John 3:34

P95

John 5:26–29.36–39

P101

Matthew 3:10–12; 3:16–4:3

P106

John 1:29–35.40–46

P107

John 17:1–2.11

P108

John 17:23–24; 18:1–5

P109

John 21:18–20.23–25

P111

Luke 17:11–13.22–23

P119

John 1:21–28.34–44

P121

John 19:17–18.25–26

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**25** This manuscript, containing only one Biblical verse and written on only one side of the papyrus, also includes a verse of divination; see David C. Parker, “Manuscripts of John’s Gospel with Hermeneiai”, in *Transmission and Reception: New Testament Text-Critical and Exegetical Studies*, ed. David C. Parker and Jeff Childers (T&S 3.4, Piscataway: Gorgias Press, 2006), 48–68 reproduced in David C. Parker, *Manuscripts, Texts, Theology: Collected Papers 1977–2007* (Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 2009), 121–138. Parker dates P80 fifth-sixth century. Cf. Hans Quecke, “Zu den Joh.-Fragmente mit “Hermeneiai,” *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* xl (1974), 407–414. On P80 see the *editio princeps* edited by Ramon Roca-Puig, “Papiro del Evangelio de San Juan con “Hermeneiai”. P. Barc, “Inv. No. 87— Jo 3,34,” in *Atti dell’XI Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia* (Milan: Istituto lombardi di scienze e lettere, 1960). Poca Puig dates P80 4<sup>th</sup> century.

### c) Third Century Majuscule

0171<sup>26</sup>

Matthew 10:17–21.25–32

Luke 22:44–56.61–64

### d) Details of the Contents of the Gospels on Papyrus

i) Papyri containing more than one Gospel:

P45 Matthew, Mark, Luke, John (and Acts)

P75 Matthew, John

ii) Papyri containing text from one Gospel only:

Papyri 1 53 64=67 70 77 plus 103 101 104 (Matthew)

Papyri P4 P69 P111 (Luke)

Papyri 5 22 28 39 52 66 80 90 95 106 107 108 109 119 121 (John)

### e) Biblical Contents<sup>27</sup>

A rough list of the contents, Gospel by Gospel, contained in the earliest papyri as listed above (d):

#### **Matthew**

Chapters:

1 P1

2 P70

3 P64 (= P67) and P101. No overlap of verses

5 P64 (=P67)

10 0171

11 P70

13 P103

14 P103

15 P64 (=P67)

20 P45

21 P45 P104. No overlap of verses

23 P77

24 P70

25 P45

26 P45 P53 P64 (= P67)

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**26** 0212 is not a continuous-text manuscript, being Diatessaronic.

**27** Often these fragmentary manuscripts contain only a few verses from a chapter.



**Mark**

Verses from chapters 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11 and 12 are found in P45

**Luke**

Chapters:

- 1 P4
- 2 P4
- 3 P4 P75 overlap in vv. 33–38
- 4 P4 P75 overlap in vv. 1–2, 34–35
- 5 P4 P75 overlap in vv. 7–8, 37–39
- 6 P4 P45 P75 overlap in vv. 1–4, 10–16, 31–41, 45–49
- 7 P45 P75 overlap in vv. 1–7
- 8 P75
- 9 P45 P75. No overlap of verses
- 10 P45 P75 overlap in vv. 26–42
- 11 P45 P75 overlap in vv. 1, 6–25, 28–46, 50–54
- 12 P45 P75 overlap in vv. 18–27, 42–59
- 13 P75
- 14 P75
- 15 P75
- 16 P75
- 17 P75 P111 overlap in vv. 11–13, 22–23
- 18 P75
- 22 P75 P69 0171 overlap in vv. 41, 44–45, 51–53

**John**

chapters

- 1 P5 P66 P75 P106 P119 with overlaps throughout the whole chapter
- 2 P66 P75. No overlap of verses
- 3 P66 P75 P80 overlap in v.34
- 4 P45 P66 P75 overlap in vv. 51, 54
- 5 P45 P66 P75 overlap in vv. 21, 24, 26–29, 36–38
- 6 P28 P66 P75 overlap in vv.8–12, 17–22
- 7 P66 P75. No overlap of verses
- 8 P39 P66 P75 overlap in vv. 14–18
- 9 P66 P75. No overlap of verses
- 10 P45 P66 P75 overlap in vv. 7–25, 30–42
- 11 P45 P66 P75 overlap in vv. 1–10, 11–57
- 12 P66 P75 overlap in vv. 3–50
- 13 P66 P75 overlap in v. 1 (or too fragmentary....)
- 14 P66 P75 overlap in vv. 8–26, 29–30
- 15 P22 P66 P75 overlap in vv. 7–8, 25–26
- 16 P5 P22 P66 overlap in vv. 14–33
- 17 P66 P107 P108 overlap in vv. 1–2, 11, 23–24
- 18 P52 P66 P90 overlap in vv.1–3, 14–18, 22, 31–33, 36–40
- 19 P66 P90 overlap in vv. 2–7, 17–18, 25–26

20 P5 P66 overlap in vv. 11–17, 19–20, 22–28; 20:16 see Parker/ Elliott  
 21 P66 P109<sup>28</sup>

## Appendix 2

A sample of variants that include the second-third century papyri follows in which the words “strict”, “normal” and “free”, terms first used by Kurt Aland and Barbara Aland (hereafter A&A),<sup>29</sup> are used although, unlike later scholars given in footnote 30 below, they did not separate assessments of a manuscript’s ‘*Textqualität*’ i.e. whether it was close to the text in NA27 (a somewhat circular argument!) from its ‘*Überlieferungsweise*’ i.e. how well its scribe worked. Whether such judgements may legitimately be applied to small and fragmentary manuscripts is questionable, but, insofar as some more recent scholars, sometimes reluctantly, use such judgements I repeat them below, without my necessarily endorsing their use.<sup>30</sup> In Matthew Wasserman occasionally redefines Min’s assessments.

### P1

Its readings often tally with those of ⲁB. A&A label this text ‘strict’; Min: ‘strict’ (for both transmission and scribal activity) and in accordance with ‘Alexandrian’ norms; Wasserman: ‘strict’ for both quality and transmission.

Matthew

1:5*bis* Βοες with ⲁB; v.ll. Βοοζ K L (W) Maj.; Βοος C 33 only; 1:6 om. ο Βασιλευς *post* Δαυειδ δε with ⲁB Γ against ο Βασιλευς Maj.; 1:16 longer text with ⲁB C K (a reading designated [A] in UBS5 because of the editors’ confidence in printing this as their running text), against the shorter text with Θ *fam*<sup>13</sup> cf. syr arm.; 1:18 γενεσις with ⲁB; γεννεσις K L Γ *fam*<sup>13</sup> Maj..

### P4

Typically with ⲁB and *Ausgangstext*. A&A ‘strict’; Hernández ‘normal’.

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**28** These papyri are therefore our earliest witnesses to this chapter’s being part of the Fourth Gospel.

**29** Kurt Aland and Barbara Aland, *The Text of the New Testament* second edition (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans and Leiden: Brill, 1989), 96. The highest numbered papyrus in that book is P96 with assessments up to only P78.

**30** These scholars are: Kyoung Shik Min, *Die früheste Überlieferung des Matthäusevangeliums (bis zu 3./4. Jh.): Edition und Untersuchung* (Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 2005); and the four contributors to *The Early Text of the New Testament*, ed. Charles E. Hill and Michael J. Kruger (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012): Tommy Wasserman for Matthew (pp. 83–107 especially pp. 86–87); Peter Head for Mark (pp. 108–120, especially p. 116); Juan Hernández Jr. for Luke (pp. 121–139 especially p. 139); Juan Chapa for John (pp. 140–156 especially p. 143).

Luke

1:66 γαρ with  $\aleph B$  C\* against om. A C<sup>2</sup>: 1:68 om. κυριος with W against *rell.*; 1:69 om. του (παιδος) with  $\aleph B$  against A C Maj.; 3:32 Σαλα with  $\aleph^*$  B against Σαλμων  $\aleph^c$  A D Maj.; Σαλμαν fam<sup>1</sup> fam<sup>13</sup>; 5:31 ιησους with B; om. W; ο ιησους *rell.* (cf. 6:9 delete ο with B only); 5:34 ιησους with  $\aleph B$  C against om. ιησους A K Maj.; 5:39 om. ευθεως with  $\aleph B$  C; ευθεως A K L Maj.; 6:1 om. δευτεροπρωτω with  $\aleph B$ ; <sup>31</sup> 6:4 delete (π)ως with B D; against πως or ως *rell.*.

**P5**

A&A ‘normal’; Chapa: the manuscript is characterized by its brevity. Many unnecessary pronouns, conjunctions, particles have been omitted. ‘Normal’ text.

John

1:27 om. εγω with P66\* P75; 16:23 αν + τι = *txt* with B C L only; many *v.ll.*; 20:19 om. καί<sup>3</sup> = *txt*; om. P5\* cf. P5<sup>c</sup> with και added above the line.

**P22**

A&A: ‘at least normal’; Chapa: ‘normal’.

John

15:26 om. δε with  $\aleph B$  Δ 579 /2211 only.

**P28**

A&A: ‘normal’; Chapa: ‘normal’.

**P39**

A&A: ‘strict’; Chapa: ‘strict’.

**P45**

A&A ‘free’ throughout all four Gospels.

Matthew

Min: ‘normal’; Wasserman: ‘normal’/ ‘free’.

20:29 no αυτω, differs from D. Singular otherwise; 20:31 εκραυγασαν against εκραζον, εκραξαν, εκραυγαζον; see parallels in Luke and Mark = κραζω [cf. P90 at John 19:6].

Mark

Head: ‘free’.

6:22 ειπεν ο βασιλευς ηρωδης: singular. [βασιλευς added above the line]; 9:19 + ιησους before λεγει (singular) cf. Luke 13:12 where P45 deletes ο ιησους.

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<sup>31</sup> See Theodore C. Skeat, “The ‘Second-First’ Sabbath (Luke 6:1): The Final Solution,” *NovT* 30 (1988): 103–106, reproduced in *The Collected Biblical Works of T.C. Skeat*, ed. J.K. Elliott (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 254–257.

Luke

Hernandez: 'free'.

11:13 πνευμα αγαθον with L only against D etc.; against Θ; against πνευμα αγιον *cett.*; 11:22 om. αυτου with P75 D (against B).

John

Chapa: 'free'.

10:18 ηρεν (for αιρει) with κ\* B only; 10:31 om. ουν παλιν with Θ only; ουν παλιν P66 A Maj.; παλιν κB L W 33 /2211 (see also at John 18:26 under P22); 11:25 om. και η ζωη alone; 11:54 εκειθεν after απηλθεν with D Γ 579 only; om. *cett.*

## P52

A&A: 'normal'; Chapa: 'normal' text.

John

18:33 1–4 with P66<sup>vid</sup> B C\*; 2–4,1 *rell.* (incl. κA Maj.). Is this changed word-order of significance?

## P53

A&A: 'at least normal'; Wasserman and Min: 'strict'/ 'normal'.

Matthew

26:39 om. μου P53 not P53\*, a reading branded "Anti-Patirpassionist" by Bart Ehrman.<sup>32</sup> P53\* reads with L Δ fam<sup>1</sup> 892 only. But the shorter reading could be harmonising to the immediate context (Matthew 26:42).

## P64/P67

Min: 'strict'/ 'normal'; Wasserman: 'strict'/ 'strict'.

Matthew

3:15 προς αυτον with κ C Maj.; αυτω P96 B fam<sup>13</sup> and two lectionaries only; 5:25 σε παραδω with κB; σε παραδωσε D; 5:28 om. αυτης with κ\* only; αυτης κ<sup>1</sup> *txt* = αυτην B D K L W Maj..

## P66 (cf. P75)

A&A: 'free'; Chapa: 'normal', an informal recension. Many errors exist but most were corrected by the scribe himself. There are also many omissions, transpositions and additions. Frequently the scribe harmonises to the immediate context. Asyndeton is regularly removed.

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<sup>32</sup> Bart D. Ehrman, *The Orthodox Corruption of Scripture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 272.

John

2:12 om. αυτου<sup>1</sup> with P75; 6:3 ο ιησους κ<sup>2</sup> Maj.; om. ο P66 with κ\* B D W; 6:7 + ουν with κ not D (cf. ουν (for δε) at John 6:10 with D 1241 only against δε A K W Maj.); 6:7 om. αυτων (after εκαστος) with P75 – unique; 6:9 om. εν ('one') before ωδε with P75 *pler.* against A K Maj.; 6:40 om. εγω with A D fam<sup>1</sup> only; 6:44 + μου unique; 6: 47 om. εις εμε with P75 κB C against *rell.*; 6:61 + ιησους: unique; 6:64 απ' (for εξ) with κlonly; 6:66 + ουν with B D Θ; 6:69 + ο χριστος before ο αγιος: unique; see also ο χριστος ο υιος C<sup>3</sup> Θ\* fam<sup>1</sup> 33 565.

A sample from chapters 11–16 follows:

Chapter 11

Verses 4 P45 αυτου; P66 om. θεου; του θεου *cett.*; 9 om. ο<sup>1</sup> P66 P75; 44 om. και<sup>1</sup> P45 P66 P75.

Chapter 12

Verses 7 αυτην ινα P66 P75; 18 αυτον τουτο P66 against 2,1 incl. P75; 20 τινες ελληνες P66 against 2,1 P75; 22 ερχεται + ο P66 P75; 41 οτι P66 P75 against οτε.

Chapter 14

Verses 13 εαν with l 565 only; 14 τουτο + εγω P66\* 1231 only; 17 αυτον P66\*.

Chapter 16

Verse 31 om. ο P22 P66.

### P69

A&A 'very free'; Hernandez 'free'. This witness showcases both the vicissitudes of scribal mechanics and the observation of transmission history.

Luke

om. 22:43–44 (and 22:42). This is our earliest example of this reading.

### P70

Min and Wasserman: 'strict' / 'free'.

**P75** (cf. P66 above)

A&A: 'strict'.

In Luke: Hernandez 'strict'; In John: Chapa 'strict'. It has a 'careful elegance'. The manuscript was professionally written and with many corrections by the original scribe. The manuscript represents a faithful copying and has made no deliberate attempts to interpret or alter text. Most *v.ll.* were due to negligence.

P75 is normally close to B.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Carlo Maria Martini, *Il problema della recensionalità del codice B alla luce del papiro Bodmer XIV* (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1966).

John

1:18 ο μονογενης θεος with  $\aleph^1$  33 against υιος and against anarthrous *txt* (with P66  $\aleph^*$  B C\* L only); 2:12 om. αυτου<sup>2</sup> with P66; 4:37 om. verse – a unique reading; 9:27 + ουν with B only; 10:7 ο ποιμην (for η θυρα) alone. (11:4 see above under P66).

**P77** (with P103)

A&A: ‘normal’; Min and Wasserman: ‘strict’/ ‘free’.

Matthew

23:37 ορνιξ επισυναγει P77 unique but agrees with sequence =  $\aleph$  B D. [ορνις = Attic; note parallel to Luke 13:34 *v.l.* ορνιξ  $\aleph$  D W.]

**P80**

John

3:34 μερου *v.l.* = μετρου with P66\*.

**P90**

Chapa: ‘normal’.

John

18:37 ει συ 2,1 against 1,2 *rell.*; 18:39 υμιν απολυσω 2,1 P90  $\aleph$  B Δ; *v.ll.* om. υμιν Ψ only; απολυω W only.

**P95**

Chapa: ‘free’.

John

5:37 εκεινος with P75  $\aleph$  B L W against εκεινος αυτος D and against P66 A K Maj. (αυτος).

**P101**

Min ‘strict’/ ‘free’; Wasserman: ‘at least normal’/ ‘free’.

Matthew

3:11 om. οπισω P101 (a unique reading); a d om.; D adds; 4:2 μ’ ημερας  $\aleph$  D 892 only; 4:3 ο πειραζων ειπεν αυτω with P101<sup>vid</sup> with  $\aleph^1$  B W; 4, 1–3 C L and cf. D.

**P103** (with P77)

Min ‘strict’/ ‘free’; Wasserman ‘at least normal’/ ‘very free’.

Matthew

13:55 Ιωσης P103<sup>vid</sup> with K L W. Earliest example of Joses (for Joseph); *v.l.* ιωαννης  $\aleph^*$  D; Ιωση 700; Ιωσηφ  $\aleph^1$  B C; 14:4 P103<sup>vid</sup> om. αυτω with 565<sup>ms.</sup>; 3,1–2 C L W; 1–3 B.

**P104**

Min: ‘strict’/ ‘strict’; Wasserman: ‘at least normal’/ ‘strict’.

**Matthew**

21:36 om. και; και παλιν  $\aleph^*$  only; παλιν ουν D only; παλιν δε 579 only; 21:44 P104<sup>vid</sup> apparently omits verse as in D 33. (Is this a “Western non-interpolation”?) Or is the shorter text from the Lukan parallel (Lk 20:18)?

**P106**

Chapa: ‘strict’.

**John**

This papyrus mostly agrees with  $\aleph$ B but note the following: 1:30 περι (for υπερ) P106<sup>vid</sup> with P5 P66 P75  $\aleph$ B C\* only against *rell.* including Maj.; 1:33 εαν unique; 1:34 ο εκλεκτος for υιος with  $\aleph^*$  alone cf. P66, P75; 1:42 ηγαγεν with P66\* P75 against και ηγαγεν; ηγαγεν δε; ουτος ηγαγεν; 1:45 om. τον *ante* υιον with P66 P75  $\aleph$ B.

**P107**

Chapa: ‘normal’.

**John**

17:2 δως αυτω with L W only.

**P108**

Chapa (in his list *op. cit.* p. 141): ‘strict’.

**John**

18:4 δε with  $\aleph$ D L W; *txt* = ουν with P60<sup>vid</sup> A B C Maj.; 18:4 εξηλθων ειπεν with  $\aleph$ A C<sup>3</sup> Maj. against P60 and against *txt* = B C\* D.

**P109**

Chapa: ‘strict’.

**John**

21:18 αλλοι (σε ζωσουσιν) with P59  $\aleph$ D W. Singular with A K etc.; 21:20 δε P109<sup>vid</sup> with A D C against om. P59  $\aleph$ D K Maj..

**P111**

Hernandez: ‘strict’.

**Luke**

17:12 om. αυτω after απηντησαν with P75 A B; *v.l.* οπου ησαν D; υπηντησαν  $\aleph$ L fam<sup>1</sup> fam<sup>13</sup>.

**P119****John**

1:27 No space for a longer text to follow ερχομενος found in A C\* fam<sup>13</sup>; shorter text: P5 P66 P75  $\aleph$ B C.

**P121**

John

19:17 om. δε after εβραισιν with P66 κA B; 19:25 κλοπα with H Ψ Ω 68 v.ll. κλωπα/ κλεοπα;  
 19:26 ουν – thus not with κ<sup>c</sup> (δε).

**0171**

Wasserman and Min: 'normal' / 'free'.

Matthew

10:17 εις τας συναγωγας with D only; 10:19 παραδωσιν 0171<sup>vid</sup> with κB; 10:29 πωλουνται with D only.

## Partnerships

Arising from the above, we note the following places where more than one second-third century papyrus share the same variant. The questions that arise are: a) is this 'mere' coincidence?; b) do these papyri share the readings because they were either copied one from the other or share a common exemplar?; c) because they are representatives of a popular reading subsequently transmitted independently by other manuscripts are these papyri not descended directly from earlier witnesses?

For examples see P45 P75 at Lk 11:22; P66 P75 in Jn 11–16 as above in Appendix 2; P66 P75 P106 in Jn 1:42, 45; P59 P109 Jn 21:18.

## Singular (and Sub-Singular) Readings

Singular readings occur in the following manuscripts at:

P45 Mk 6:22; 9:19; Jn 11:25

P75 Jn 4:37; 10:7

P77 Mt 23:37

[P80 Jn 3:34]

P90 Jn 18:39

P101 Mt 3:11.

Sub-singular readings occur in the following manuscripts, as indicated:

P4 Lk 1:68

P45 Mt 20:29; Lk 11:13; Jn 10:31; (Jn 11:54)

P66 Jn 6:40?; 6:64

P75 Jn 1:18; 9:27

P101 Mt 4:2

P106 Jn 1:34

0171 Mt 10: 17, 29 (both with D only).



Giovanni Bazzana

# Replaying Jesus' Sayings in the "Agrapha"

Reflections on the *Neu-Inszenierung* of Jesus' Traditions in the Second Century between 2 *Clement* and Clement of Alexandria

The entire, ill-defined area of critical research that goes under the label of "agrapha" presents more than one dangerous methodological pitfall. Very few among the scholars who have approached this *corpus* will deny that the entire category of "agrapha", despite recent and careful attempts to put together rich and well-crafted collections of the sayings that would have to be classified under the label, should be reconsidered and redesigned, particularly if one is interested in what light these materials can shed on the status of Gospels in the second century. In turn, however, it is clear that some of the "agrapha" can have a great deal to say about the transmission and formation of Gospel materials in the period that is considered in the present collection, as several scholars have noted in the past. Thus, the present contribution will sketch very quickly the main methodological questions related to the label "agrapha" in order to devote more space to the analysis of a handful of cases that might be representative of the important role that "agrapha" can have in addressing the problem of the status of Gospel texts in the second century.

## 1 The Problems with "Agrapha"

It is well known that the label "agrapha" began its career in the modern study of biblical texts and of the early history of the Christ movement with the first edition of a collection of extra-canonical sayings attributed to Jesus assembled by Alfred Resch in 1889.<sup>1</sup> The radical methodological problem that still haunts the study of "agrapha" is already clear in the criteria that guided Resch's choice of what to include in his collection. This has not so much to do with the self-contradictory choice of designating these materials as "unwritten" when they must have been written somewhere in order to make all the way to Resch and thus be included in his book.<sup>2</sup> Obviously, the term "agrapha" means not so much that

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<sup>1</sup> Alfred Resch, *Agrapha: aussercanonische Evangelienfragmente* (TU 5/4; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1889); the collection was then reedited and augmented in a second edition published in 1908.

<sup>2</sup> Such a contradiction is duly noted at the very outset by Tobias Nicklas, who remarks insightfully on the problematic relationship that it presupposes between written and oral traditions

these sayings were “not written” as that they had not been included in the biblical canon understood as “scripture” (γραφή) par excellence.

This criterion has dominated the selection and study of the “agrapha” since then, as one can see very easily in more recent revisions of Resch’s original collection. For instance, in the German speaking academic world, Otfried Hofius’s definition of what he calls “scattered sayings of the Lord” (*versprengte Herrenworte*) follows the same basic criterion in the scholarly tradition of Joachim Jeremias and enjoys wide popularity because of its inclusion in Schneemelcher’s collection of New Testament apocrypha in German translation.<sup>3</sup> The same can be said for the English fulsome collection put together most than 25 years ago by William Stroker.<sup>4</sup>

A notable and important exception to this scholarly trend is marked by the newest Italian compilation assembled by Mauro Pesce.<sup>5</sup> The Italian scholar includes in his collection passages such as Act 20:35, in which the author of the writing puts on Paul’s mouth the reminder of one “of the sayings of the Lord Jesus”: “it is more honorable to give than to take.”<sup>6</sup> Likewise, one could point at 1 Cor 11:18–19 to possibly find the echo of a saying of Jesus on σχίσματα and αἰρέσεις, which is explicitly quoted as such by later Christian authors beginning with Justin.<sup>7</sup> Indeed the saying “there will be divisions and factions” (ἔσονται σχίσματα καὶ αἰρέσεις) occurs in Justin, *Dialogue with Trypho* 35,3, sandwiched within a series of other apocalyptic *testimonia* drawn from Mt 7 and

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within the early Christ groups, a crucial theme on which we will come back below. See Tobias Nicklas, “Zur Problematik der sogenannten ‘Agrapha’: eine Thesenreihe,” RB 113 (2006), 78–93, here 80–81.

3 Still in Otfried Hofius, “Außerkanonische Herrenworte”, in *Antike christliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung*, ed. Cristoph Marksches, Jens Schröter, 2 vols. (Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 2012), 184–189; for a fuller discussion, see Otfried Hofius, “Unbekannte Jesusworte”, in *Neutestamentliche Studien* (WUNT 132; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 2000), 161–188.

4 William D. Stroker, *Extracanonical Sayings of Jesus* (SBL RBS 18; Atlanta [GA]: Scholars, 1989).

5 Mauro Pesce, *Le parole dimenticate di Gesù* (Milano: Lorenzo Valla, 2005). Pesce has provided scholars with an invaluable resource that however can prove itself somewhat unwieldy, as noted in his important critical remarks by Enrico Norelli, “Etude critique: une collection de paroles de Jésus non comprises dans les évangiles canoniques,” *Apocrypha* 17 (2006): 223–244.

6 Μνεμονεύειν τε τῶν λόγων τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ ὅτι αὐτὸς εἶπεν· μακάριόν ἐστιν μᾶλλον διδόναι ἢ λαμβάνειν (“Remembering the words of the Lord Jesus, for he himself said, ‘It is much more honorable to give than to receive.’”).

7 “For I hear that, when you at first get together in an assembly, there are divisions among you and I have reason to believe that in part. For there must also be factions among you so that the worthy ones might become evident among you” (Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ συνερχομένων ὑμῶν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀκούω σχίσματα ἐν ὑμῖν ὑπάρχειν, καὶ μέρος τι πιστεύω. Δεῖ γὰρ καὶ αἰρέσεις ἐν ὑμῖν εἶναι, ἵνα καὶ οἱ δόκιμοι φανεροὶ γένωνται ἐν ὑμῖν).

24. Enrico Norelli has presented a very strong argument to the effect that the saying indeed stood behind Paul's formulation in 1 Cor 11.<sup>8</sup>

The methodological problems raised by the study of the "agrapha" have been tackled in a seminal essay of Tobias Nicklas.<sup>9</sup> While Nicklas establishes several very reasonable points that will be taken up again in the present treatment, his definition of an "agraphon" contains the just-mentioned assumption of the canonical New Testament as a fundamental principle that shapes and pre-configures all the other categories. Thus (and again as done by his predecessors) Nicklas restricts the examination to sayings that he defines as "non- or extracanonial words of the Lord" with the further proviso that the materials considered here must not be included "in the critical text of the New Testament."<sup>10</sup> The problematic nature of such a criterion is immediately evident to Nicklas himself, who goes on – in almost the same breath – to observe that the very notion of a "critical text of the New Testament" is fraught with methodological problems. The latter stretch from its (by definition) temporary nature all the way to its complex relationship with the ancient versions when they diverge in a significant measure from the Greek text on which more or less the majority of the manuscripts agree.

Without going into too many details concerning this complicated (but no less crucial) nexus of issues, Nicklas's conclusions here seem – to this reader at least – to hide problems that amount to something more than "marginal blurrings" (*Randunschärfen*). The examples mentioned above should have demonstrated that more than a few New Testament books include sayings that are attributed to Jesus of Nazareth. Thus, to restrict an examination merely to the writings not included in the canonical collection ends up excluding from consideration a really sizable portion of the evidence at our disposal. Moreover, such a principled exclusion of important evidence is performed on the basis of a criterion (that of canonicity), whose appearance introduces a disturbing element of anachronism in the entire argument.

These complexities are all the more evident when one wants – as is the general purpose of the present volume – to look at "agrapha" in order to understand the status of the Gospels in the second century C.E. To exclude from considera-

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<sup>8</sup> Enrico Norelli, "Déchirements et sectes: un *agraphon* derrière 1 Corinthiens 11,18–19," in *Nuovo Testamento: teologie in dialogo culturale. Scritti in onore di Romano Penna nel suo 70° compleanno*, ed. Nicola Ciola, Giuseppe Pulcinelli (Bologna: Dehoniane, 2008), 265–285.

<sup>9</sup> Nicklas, "Problematic" (n. 1), 78–93.

<sup>10</sup> "Unter einem nicht- oder außerkanonischen Herrenwort ist ein Jesus von Nazaret zugeschriebener Ausspruch zu verstehen, der sich nicht im kritischen Text des Neuen Testaments findet" (Nicklas, "Problematic" [n. 1], 84).

tion some of the New Testament books means to take away several of the most important pieces of evidence at our disposal, as in the case of the canonical *Acts of the Apostles* (which were, in all likelihood, composed in the same second century).<sup>11</sup>

Another example, which might be little later than those presented before, might further clarify this issue and be all the more helpful inasmuch as it touches on a piece of evidence that is discussed elsewhere in this volume. Within a section of book four of the *Stromateis* devoted to a quick commentary of the beatitudes, Clement of Alexandria quotes the final sentences of the (all-important, for his teaching on the good use of riches) Lukan episode of Zacchaeus's encounter with Jesus:

Ζακχαῖον τοῖνυν, οἱ δὲ Ματθίαν φασίν, ἀρχιτελώνην, ἀκηκοῦτα τοῦ κυρίου καταξιώσαντος πρὸς αὐτὸν γενέσθαι, Ἰδοὺ τὰ ἡμίση τῶν ὑπαρχόντων μου δίδωμι ἐλεημοσύνην, φάναι, κύριε, καὶ εἴ τινός τι ἐσυκοφάντησα, τετραπλοῦν ἀποδίδωμι. Ἐφ' οὗ καὶ ὁ σωτὴρ εἶπεν, Ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐλθὼν σήμερον τὸ ἀπολωλὸς εὔρεν.<sup>12</sup>

Likewise, Zacchaeus (some say, Matthias), the chief tax-collector, having heard that the Lord was deigning to go into his house, said: "Behold, I am giving half of my estate as almsgiving, and, if I have extorted anyone, I am returning them four times the extorted sums." Upon hearing that, the Savior exclaimed: "Today the son of man has come and has found what was lost."

This passage has attracted a fair amount of scholarly interest because, while the statement of Zacchaeus is almost identical to what one can read in canonical Lk 19:8,<sup>13</sup> the final saying put on the mouth of Jesus is markedly different from Lk 19:9–10.<sup>14</sup> Since the seminal analysis of Theodor Zahn, this particular saying has

<sup>11</sup> For an argument about the dating of *Acts* that is gaining more and more traction, see Richard I. Pervo, *Dating Acts: Between the Evangelists and the Apologists* (Santa Rosa [CA]: Polebridge, 2006); Laura S. Nasrallah, "The Acts of the Apostles, Greek Cities, and Hadrian's Panhellenion", *JBL* 127 (2008): 533–566; and Shelly Matthews, *Perfect Martyr: The Stoning of Stephen and the Construction of Christian Identity* (Oxford: OUP, 2010).

<sup>12</sup> Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis* 4.6.35.2, in Clément d'Alexandrie, *Les Stromates IV*, ed. Annewies van den Hoek, Claude Mondésert (SChr 463; Paris: Cerf, 2001): 114.

<sup>13</sup> The only major difference is the substitution of "almsgiving" (ἐλεημοσύνη) for "giving to the poor" (τοῖς πτωχοῖς δίδωμι), but this change can easily be ascribed to Clement himself, since in this passage he is commenting the beatitude of the πτωχοί and he is trying to convince its readers that (quite counterintuitively, one must say) Jesus is not asking his followers to become "poor", but to retain their properties in order to give them away in the form of almsgiving.

<sup>14</sup> Σήμερον σωτηρία τῷ οἴκῳ τούτῳ ἐγένετο, καθότι καὶ αὐτὸς υἱὸς Ἀβραάμ ἐστιν· ἦλθεν γὰρ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ζητῆσαι καὶ σῶσαι τὸ ἀπολωλός ("Today salvation has come to this house, because he too is a son of Abraham. For the Son of Man came to seek out and save the lost").

often been considered a piece of evidence to the effect that Clement knew a "gospel of Matthias" or, in a less formalized shape, "traditions of Matthias", which the Alexandrian does indeed mention explicitly in other four passages of the *Stromateis*.<sup>15</sup> However, the connection between the passage quoted above and the traditions preserved (in whatever form) under the name of Matthias is quite tenuous. In particular, as pointed out by Winrich Löhr as the last one in a long chain of scholars, the presence of Matthias in the manuscript tradition of this passage of the *Stromateis* can simply be due to the mistake of a scribe who mixed up the two (admittedly very similar) names of "Matthew" and "Matthias".<sup>16</sup>

The temptation of using the passage of Clement to unearth hypothetical sources is but a symptom of a more general tendency in the scholarship on "agrapha" to focus too narrowly only on the question whether a given saying might or might not be traced back to the historical Jesus.<sup>17</sup> Very appropriately, Nicklas alerts us to this danger and invites us to look at these materials inasmuch as they "help to clarify the combinations between oral and written tradition, which are so important for further inquiry, and can uncover traces of the early Christian reception of Jesus."<sup>18</sup> In the same spirit, it is well worth taking a second look at the saying addressed to Zacchaeus by Jesus, quite independently on its very debatable connection with an elusive Gospel of Matthias. Indeed, Zahn was correct in his fundamental observation that Clement knew two different endings of the Zacchaeus episode, because elsewhere he does not have any problem in quoting *verbatim* the text of Lk 19:9–10.<sup>19</sup> The version of the Jesus

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15 See the most recent discussion of the evidence and of the related historical issues in Christoph Marksches, "Das Evangelium nach Matthias/die Überlieferungen des Matthias", in *Apokryphen*, ed. Marksches, Schröter (n. 3), 420–428.

16 Winrich A. Löhr, *Basilides und seine Schule: eine Studie zur Theologie- und Kirchengeschichte des zweiten Jahrhunderts* (WUNT 83; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1996), 249–254.

17 "Zwar ist es legitim, außerkanonische Herrenworte für die Rückfrage nach dem historischen Jesus heranzuziehen. Jede einseitige Konzentration der Forschung auf die Meinung, erst die historische 'Echtheit' mache den Wert eines derartigen Logions aus, führt in die Sackgasse" (Nicklas, "Problematisierung" [n. 1], 85).

18 "Der Wert von außerkanonischen bzw. versprengten Herrenworten besteht weniger darin, den Wert der kanonischen Evangelien – quasi als Spiegelbild – umso stärker hervortreten zu lassen als darin, Material zu liefern, das die für die Rückfrage so wichtigen Verquickungen zwischen mündlicher und schriftlicher Überlieferung zu klären hilft und Spuren frühchristlicher Jesusrezeption freilegen kann" (Nicklas, "Problematisierung" [n. 1], 93).

19 For instance in *Quis dives salvetur* 13,5 (in Clément d'Alexandrie, *Quel riche sera sauvé?*, ed. Carlo Nardi, Patrick Descourtieux (SChr 537; Paris: Cerf, 2011, 136); see Theodor Zahn, *Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons*, II, *Urkunden und Belege zum ersten und dritten Band* (Leipzig: 1892), 751–753.

saying encountered in the Stromateis (and quoted above) is all the more interesting inasmuch as it is very difficult to consider it – *pace* Marksches and Klauck – as a mere “variant” of the one found in canonical Luke.<sup>20</sup> The version included in Lk 19:9–10 is far less streamlined than the alternative and, in particular, the designation of the forgiven Zacchaeus as “son of Abraham” fits perfectly some of the most evident redactional tendencies of Luke, such as that of presenting Jesus as appropriating ancestral Israelite traditions and, in so doing, shaming his Jewish opponents for their narrow-minded exclusivism.<sup>21</sup> This is not the place to discuss the status of the Gospel of Luke in the second century or the knowledge that Clement had of this writing. Nevertheless, even if the saying included in Stromateis 4 is considered a piece of tradition that reached Clement by way of oral transmission, the fact of not deeming it part of a larger written source does not relegate it (as Zahn would have wanted) to the role of a “marginal glossa” (*Randglosse*). On the contrary, it can count as a valuable piece of information towards a more adequate understanding of the ways in which Clement treated the Gospels that he read. In the present case we have an indication that he felt free to combine written and oral traditions in a constructive and creative fashion.

## 2 “Agrapha” and “Canonical” Sayings

Such an approach to the study of “agrapha” is quite promising, in particular because these materials are often circulated far and widely, but the goal of establishing their “original” form or, in the most ambitious cases, whether they were actually uttered by the historical Jesus (and with what intention) appears to be at best a daunting task. Thus, some of the most popular “agrapha” among early Christian writers are those whose content is quite generic, so that their application to sometimes even very different rhetorical situations is quite easy. A case in point, on which I have written elsewhere,<sup>22</sup> is that of “be trustworthy money-

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<sup>20</sup> Marksches (“Matthias”, 421, n. 9) follows Hans-Josef Klauck, *Apokryphe Evangelien: eine Einführung* (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk 2002), 262.

<sup>21</sup> Jacques Dupont notes the terminological and theological connection between this part of the saying and the justification for the healing of a woman on a Sabbath day in Lk 13:15–16 or Peter’s speech in the Temple in Act 3:25–26. Obviously, this seems to appear a theme that Luke has developed out of Q 3:8; for a more extensive argument, see Jacques Dupont, “Le riche publicain Zachée est aussi un fils d’Abraham (Luc 19,1–10)”, in *Der Treue Gottes Trauen: Beiträge zum Werk des Lukas für Gerhard Schneider*, ed. Claus Bussmann, Walter Radl (Freiburg i.B.: Herder, 1991), 265–276.

<sup>22</sup> Giovanni B. Bazzana, “Be Good Moneychangers: the Role of an Agraphon in a Discursive Fight for the Canon of Scripture”, in *Invention, Rewriting, Usurpation: Discursive Fights over Re-*

changers/bankers" (γίνεσθε δόκιμοι τραπεζίται), which is possibly the most popular saying attributed to Jesus that did not end up being included in any canonical writing.<sup>23</sup> The pithiness of the moneychangers saying is such that it could be used almost on any occasion and for every rhetorical purpose. However, this very flexibility – coupled with the fact that the saying refers to an eminently common feeling of everyday life (the ever-unfulfilled longing for "honest bankers"! – renders it impossible to establish whether the historical Jesus did or did not use it. In turn, the very same flexibility and the widespread use in early Christian texts make it a particularly good candidate for a study as the one suggested by Nicklas, who would focus on what an "agraphon" can teach us on the transmission, employment, or even invention of Jesus traditions in the second century.

An "agraphon" in many ways comparable to the moneychangers saying occurs in the vicinity of the Stromateis passage discussed above and its analysis can provide us with some further elements of reflection. In the paragraph immediately preceding number 35, Clement – already dealing with the problem of wealth – makes the point that the "commandment" (ἐντολή) exhorts to practice "the gnostic life" (τὸν γνωστικὸν βίον) disregarding the acquisition of material riches. The Alexandrian bolsters such a claim with a series of Gospel quotations, which includes Lk 12:15 + Mt 16:26 + Lk 12:22–23 (the latter with interesting variants that cannot be analyzed here) and culminates with a very intriguing form of Mt 6:32–33:

Οἶδεν γὰρ ὁ πατήρ ὑμῶν ὅτι χρῆζετε τούτων ἀπάντων· ζητεῖτε δὲ πρῶτον τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν καὶ τὴν δικαιοσύνην, ταῦτα γὰρ μεγάλα, τὰ δὲ μικρὰ καὶ περὶ τὸν βίον, ταῦτα προστεθήσεται ὑμῖν.

For your father knows that you need all these things. Seek first the kingdom of heavens and justice, for these are major things, but the minor things and those that pertain to life, those he will give to you in addition.

The version of the Matthean verse encountered here is more or less the same that one can read in the canonical Gospel, with the marginal exception that Clement has "the kingdom of heavens", instead of the "kingdom [of God]" that is found in our critical editions.<sup>24</sup> One might say that, in this case, the Alexandrian author

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*ligious Traditions in Antiquity*, ed. Jörg Ulrich, Anders-Christian Jacobsen, David Brakke (Frankfurt a.M.: Peter Lang, 2012), 297–311.

<sup>23</sup> For a fulsome sample of the occurrences of this saying in ancient Christian literature, see Stroker, *Extracanonica* (n. 4), 125–128.

<sup>24</sup> Interestingly enough, Clement quotes Mt 6:33 in the *Pedagogue* (2,120,2) in the same form, but immediately before that passage (2,103,5) the Alexandrian writes "kingdom of God" (even



has gone even further than the Matthean redactor in rendering “more Matthean” the text of Q that was behind the Gospel here.

That being said, the striking feature of this passage is that Mt 6:32–33 is somehow fused together with an “agraphon” that is well known from other occurrences in several early Christian authors.<sup>25</sup> Annewies Van den Hoek, in commenting on Clement’s passage quoted above, suggests that the “original” form of the saying might have been the following: αἰτεῖτε τὰ μεγάλα καὶ τὰ μικρὰ ὑμῖν προστεθήσεται, καὶ αἰτεῖτε τὰ ἐπουράνια καὶ τὰ ἐπίγεια ὑμῖν προστεθήσεται (“ask for the big things and the small ones will be given to you in addition, and ask for the heavenly things and the earthly ones will be given to you in addition”).<sup>26</sup> That is indeed the form in which the saying is quoted four or five times by Origen in various works of his and is then taken up by Ambrose, who – as usual – copies Origen’s text *verbatim* in a letter of his.<sup>27</sup>

It is doubtful, however, that Van den Hoek’s reasoning is correct on this point. The passage of the Stromateis quoted above shows that Clement knew only a simpler form of the “agraphon”, as “ask for the big things and the small ones will be given to you in addition”. One could indeed counteract that Clement construes the opposition between the “kingdom of heaven” and “the things pertaining to life (understood as “material life”)” in a way that is reminiscent of the binary between τὰ ἐπουράνια and τὰ ἐπίγεια, so that it might be presupposed that the Alexandrian did in fact know the “double” form of the saying. But this is a very clear instance of circular reasoning, because it is much more economic to hypothesize that Clement would have expressed the binary more explicitly, if he had known the “long” form, or perhaps even that the “long” form originated under the impulse of uses of the “short” saying similar to that cited by

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though it is difficult to tell whether he is actually quoting Matthew and not Luke in the last case). The square brackets in NA27 are due to the fact that either “of heavens” and “of God” are omitted in Sinaiticus and Vaticanus; on the issue, see Carl P. Cosaert, *The Text of the Gospels in Clement of Alexandria* (The New Testament in the Greek Fathers 9; Atlanta [GA]: SBL, 2008), 75. Besides Clement, the same variant is attested by Justin as well in 1 *Apology* 15,16, for which see Michael Mees, *Die Zitate aus dem Neuen Testament bei Clemens von Alexandrien* (Roma: Gregoriana, 1970), vol. 2, 17.

<sup>25</sup> See a list in Stroker, *Extracanonical* (n. 4), 122–125. One cannot treat the “agraphon” as a mere “explanation” of Mt 6:33, as attempted by Jan Ruwet, “Les ‘agrapha’ dans les oeuvres de Clément d’Alexandrie”, *Biblica* 30 (1949): 133–160, here 138–139. For that is not the way in which Clement’s sentence is constructed. Moreover, the saying appears elsewhere and in other authors with the explicit indication that one is dealing with a statement of Jesus.

<sup>26</sup> Clément, *Stromate IV* (n. 12), 114, n. 1.

<sup>27</sup> Origen quotes the “agraphon”, for instance, in *On Prayer* 2,2 (and again in 14,1 and 16,2) together with a long list of sayings taken from the canonical Gospels that exhort to pray.



Clement in our passage.<sup>28</sup> On top of this evidence, it must also be noted that Eusebius – in his *Commentaries on the Psalms* 16,2 – uses the “short” form of the “agraphon” in a context focused on the right form of prayer and thus quite redolent of Origen’s teaching in *On Prayer*.<sup>29</sup>

That being said, the most interesting question to pose here (as we have seen above) is not so much the one related to the identification of the “original” form of the saying, but the one concerning the use that Clement made of it. The choice of “fusing” the “agraphon” with Mt 6:32–33 is certainly peculiar, but not unique at all for the Alexandrian. In fact, given the somewhat overlapping endings of the two sayings, one can even say that such a procedure could make good sense. Moreover, it is worth asking if Clement did this himself and only in this passage or whether one might surmise that he received a tradition in which the “fusion” had already taken place. Interestingly enough, the “agraphon” occurs also again in another passage of the *Stromateis*, in which Clement discusses Moses as an ideal type of royal authority:

Τοῦ δὲ βασιλικοῦ τὸ μὲν θεῖον μέρος ἐστίν, οἷον τὸ κατὰ τὸν θεὸν καὶ τὸν ἅγιον υἱὸν αὐτοῦ, παρ’ ὧν τὰ τε ἀπὸ γῆς ἀγαθὰ καὶ τὰ ἐκτὸς καὶ ἡ τελεία εὐδαιμονία χορηγεῖται· Αἰτεῖσθε γάρ, φησί, τὰ μεγάλα, καὶ τὰ μικρὰ ὑμῖν προστεθήσεται.<sup>30</sup>

There is a divine component of the art of reigning, which is according to God and his son, through whom the goods of the earth, the external things, and perfect happiness are apportioned: for it says, “Ask for the big things, and the small ones will be given to you in addition.”

Clement then goes on to list a series of inferior types of sovereignty, which are focused merely on “violent instincts” (as in the cases of Heracles and Alexander), or on the “will to conquer”, or finally on the most material “bodily desires”.<sup>31</sup> The “agraphon” about “seeking great things” fits quite well the highest type of divine and rational kingship that indeed belongs to Moses. But we have seen above that this saying (more or less like the “agraphon” on bankers) can in fact be a good fit for almost any context on account of its fundamental flexibility.

<sup>28</sup> Pesce, *Dimenticate* (n. 5), 712, rightly treats the two sayings as distinct.

<sup>29</sup> This reasoning can also serve as a counter to the hypothesis that the “agraphon” might have originated in the context of a teaching on prayer, as maintained by Joachim Jeremias, *Unbekannte Jesusworte* (3<sup>rd</sup> edition; Gütersloh: Mohn 1963), 94.

<sup>30</sup> Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis* 1,24,153,2, in Clément d’Alexandrie, *Les Stromates I*, ed. Claude Mondésert, Marcel Caster (SChr 30; Paris: Cerf, 1915), 159.

<sup>31</sup> On the treatment of Moses in *Stromateis* 1, see now Kathleen Gibbons, “Moses, Statesman and Philosopher: the Philosophical Background of the Ideal of Assimilating to God and the Methodology of Clement of Alexandria’s in *Stromateis* 1”, *VChr* 69 (2015): 157–185.

Thus, one might wonder whether something else might have moved Clement to introduce the saying at this precise juncture. Mauro Pesce insightfully observes that the theological political theme of God's *basileia* is the conduit that holds together – by way of the “agraphon” on seeking great things – both the discussion of Moses's divine kingship and Mt 6:32–33.<sup>32</sup>

A very likely conclusion of this brief analysis is that Mt 6:32–33 was always associated for Clement with the “agraphon” on seeking great things, be that because he had found the “combination” in the list of *testimonia* that he used in Stromateis 4 or because this form of the saying reached him through another channel of transmission, possibly oral.<sup>33</sup> In any event, besides confirming the multiplicity and flexibility that characterize the tradition of Jesus's sayings even in the late second century, the brief analysis of this “agraphon” strengthens also another methodological recommendation of Nicklas. The research on these materials should not limit itself merely to those “agrapha” that are “not deducible from a tradition-historical point of view” from those texts that happened to become canonical at a later time.<sup>34</sup> In fact, the relationship between these two bodies of materials is quite complex, and in particular much more nuanced than a paradigm in which either all the “agrapha” depend from “canonical” sayings or vice versa.

### 3 2 Clement and “Secondary Oralization”

As it has been observed before, “agrapha” are studied more effectively when due consideration is given to the different contexts in which a single author used them. Decontextualized sayings might provide very effective fuel for speculations on the historical Jesus, but they are not very helpful in informing us – for instance – on the ways in which Jesus traditions were reemployed, reorganized, and constituted in the second century.

A much-discussed “container” of early Jesus traditions of various natures is the so-called *Second Letter of Clement*, a text that may provide us with the opportunity of reflecting a bit more extensively on the complex relationship between sayings that later became canonical and those that did not have such

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<sup>32</sup> Pesce, *Dimenticate* (n.5), 686.

<sup>33</sup> Mees, “Zitate” (n. 24), 194, suggests a catechetical context.

<sup>34</sup> ” [...] dass ein versprengtes Herrenwort in überlieferungsgeschichtlichem Zusammenhang mit einem Logion steht, welches Teil eines kanonisch gewordenen Textes ist, nicht *unbedingt* schon bedeuten, dass es aus dem kanonischen Logion abzuleiten ist und nicht das umgekehrte Verhältnis gelten könnte” (Nicklas, “Problematik” [n. 1], 92–93).

luck. Moreover, 2 Clement might also push the conversation a little earlier in the second century on account of its arguably early dating.<sup>35</sup>

2 Clement presents its critical readers with a very complicated and, most importantly, inconsistent way to introduce materials that the author considers authoritative and thus attributable to the "Lord" or, far less commonly, to God himself. To make things even more intractable, 2 Clement includes also a much-debated passage in which it is specified what "the Lord says in the gospel":

Λέγει γὰρ ὁ κύριος ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ· εἰ τὸ μικρὸν οὐκ ἐτηρήσατε, τὸ μέγα τίς ὑμῖν δώσει; Λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν, ὅτι ὁ πιστὸς ἐν ἐλαχίστῳ καὶ ἐν πολλῷ πιστὸς ἐστίν.<sup>36</sup>

For the Lord says in the gospel: if you have not preserved the small, who is going to give you something big? For I tell you that the one who is trustworthy in what is very little is also trustworthy in what is important.

This saying too is composed of two parts. The second half is identical word for word with a saying that is encountered in Lk 16:10a, but, while the materials that follow this verse in Luke show a vague resemblance of meaning with the first half of the "agraphon", their terminology is completely different. On the other hand, the beginning of 2 Clement 8,5 occurs separately in Irenaeus's *Against the Heresies* 2,34,3.<sup>37</sup> That being said, the two parts are certainly known to the author of 2 Clement as a unity, because – as noted by Pratscher – the connective element λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν ὅτι ("for I tell you that") is not an interpretive formula, but an explicative connection that occurs often in the Jesus materials, also in those that have been included in the canon.<sup>38</sup>

Tuckett is hesitant to decide whether the sayings should be considered an amplification of canonical Luke or of a common-sense proverb (on the untrustworthiness of whoever has failed to show reliability on small things), which was floating around within early Christ groups as well as in the society at large.<sup>39</sup> As noted by Pratscher, however, the stark difference in context between Luke (who is arguing about the management of wealth) and 2 Clement (who is exhorting to

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35 Dating 2 Clement is a notoriously problematic affair: a dating in the second century is widely held among scholars, but its foundations are quite flimsy, as observed by Christopher M. Tuckett *2 Clement: Introduction, Text, and Commentary* (Oxford: OUP, 2012), 62–64, and Wilhelm Pratscher, *Der Zweite Clemensbrief* (KAV 3; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2007), 62–64.

36 2 Clement 8,5, in Tuckett, *2 Clement: Introduction* (n. 35), 98.

37 See Stroker, *Extracanonica* (n. 4), 119–120.

38 Pratscher, *Clemensbrief* (n. 35), 132.

39 Andrew F. Gregory, Christopher M. Tuckett, "2 Clement and the Writings that Later Formed the New Testament", in *The Reception of the New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers* (Oxford: OUP, 2005), 251–292, here 268–270.

keep the flesh undefiled in order to obtain eternal life) renders the hypothesis of a literary relationship highly unlikely.<sup>40</sup> Moreover, the redactor of canonical Luke seems to have assembled, at the end of the parable of the unjust steward (Lk 16:10–13), a series of sayings that are at best loosely related to each other. This strengthens the hypothesis that the saying on “trustworthiness in small things” was actually a generic proverb of wide circulation that happened to be included in two unrelated textual compositions (canonical Luke and 2 Clement).

The other long-standing question concerning this passage has to do with the mention of a “gospel”. Should this be taken as a reference to a written text or a more generic designation for the oral preaching of Jesus? The scholarly consensus seems to prefer the first option, which indeed would make the most sense even if 2 Clement is dated fairly early in the second century.<sup>41</sup> As pointed out by Pratscher,<sup>42</sup> the introductory formula that one encounters in 8,5 (λέγει γὰρ ὁ κύριος ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ) finds its most similar parallel in 2,4, the only other passage in which 2 Clement states explicitly that it is quoting a written scripture. There, a quotation that is identical to Mt 9:13 (also the same as Mk 2:17) is introduced as καὶ ἑτέρα δὲ γραφή λέγει (“and another scripture says”), following a series of texts taken from the Greek translations of the Jewish scriptures.

It is obviously impossible to establish whether these two quotations come from the same writing or if 2,4 refers to “canonical” Matthew, while 8,5 depends on a collection of “agrapha” (or on a collection formed by a mixture of “agrapha” and synoptic-like materials). What can be established with some degree of confidence, and is important for the present purposes, is that 2 Clement had access (similarly to what has been observed before about Clement of Alexandria) to such a book and that he ascribed authority to it.

But it is possible to see that Clement is treating these materials also in other ways. Another good and very much discussed example occurs in 4,5:

Δία τοῦτο, ταῦτα ἡμῶν πρᾶσσόντων, εἶπεν ὁ κύριος· ἐὰν ᾗτε μετ’ ἐμοῦ συνηγμένοι ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ μου καὶ μὴ ποιῆτε τὰς ἐντολάς μου, ἀποβαλῶ ὑμᾶς καὶ ἐρῶ ὑμῖν· ὑπάγετε ἀπ’ ἐμοῦ, οὐκ οἶδα ὑμᾶς πόθεν ἐστέ, ἐργάται ἀνομίας.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>40</sup> Pratscher, *Clemensbrief* (n. 35), 131.

<sup>41</sup> See also James A. Kelhoffer, *Conceptions of “Gospel” and Legitimacy in Early Christianity* (WUNT 324; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 2014), 44–55 (even though his general argument concerning the dating of the long ending of Mark, John 21, and ultimately the formation of a fourfold Gospel canon remains unconvincing for this reader); compare also Tuckett, *2 Clement: Introduction* (n. 35), 200; and Helmut Koester, *Synoptische Überlieferung bei den Apostolischen Vätern* (TU 65; Berlin: Akademie, 1957), 11.

<sup>42</sup> Pratscher, *Clemensbrief* (n. 35), 132.

<sup>43</sup> Text from Tuckett, *2 Clement: Introduction* (n. 35), 90.

Therefore, if we do these things, the Lord<sup>44</sup> says: "If you are gathered with me in my bosom and do not do my commandments, I will throw you away and I will say to you: go away from me, I do not know you, from where you are, operators of lawlessness."

Again, this is a saying that combines two parts that are attested elsewhere independently, but the situation is definitely more complicated here than in the preceding case. The first half of the verse is famously similar to a marginal gloss that is found in a Greek minuscule manuscript (1424) of Matthew (at Mt 7:5)<sup>45</sup> and is attributed there to τὸ Ἰουδαϊκόν ("the Jewish one").<sup>46</sup> Traditionally, this and other similar marginal annotations have been considered the result of a collation of the otherwise lost "Jewish-Christian" gospels, and in particular of the so-called "Gospel of the Nazaraeans". However, in recent years it has become evident that the connection drawn between these glossae and other remains of "Jewish-Christian" gospels rests on a rather fragile basis.<sup>47</sup> Thus, it is more advisable to treat this gloss independently, even though the Ἰουδαϊκόν might still be considered a carrier of relatively early traditions. The relationship between the gloss of Mt 7:5 and 2 Clement 4,5a has been a matter of debate, because, while the two sayings are clearly similar, they also present some interesting differences, for instance, where 2 Clement has "my commandments", the gloss reads "the will of my father who is in heaven". The association between "bosom" and "commandments" has led some to suggest that 2 Clement may be reminiscent of Johannine language here, but the introduction of "commandments" can be more easily considered a Clementine redactional intervention (since the entire writing is very fond of using this word, as in 3,4; 6,7; 8,4; 17) and there is no other credible trace of Johannine influence on 2 Clement.<sup>48</sup> Certainly, by speaking of

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<sup>44</sup> It is worth noting that there is a text-critical problem here, since the reading preferred above is the one usual in 2 Clement in these formulae and witnessed by the two Greek manuscripts Alexandrinus and Constantinopolitanus, while the Syriac translation has "Jesus". The latter would be *lectio difficilior*, but the unreliable nature of the Syriac witness induces one to side with Tuckett, *2 Clement: introduction* (n. 35), 167, n. 47.

<sup>45</sup> Jörg Frey, "Die Textvarianten nach dem 'Jüdischen Evangelium'", in *Apokryphen*, ed. Markschies, Schröter, (n.3) 655–660 (here 658, n. 26), rightly observes that the association with Mt 7:5 does not make much sense and that a better reference would be Mt 7:21.23.

<sup>46</sup> Ἐὰν ᾗτε ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ μου καὶ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πατρὸς μου τοῦ ἐν οὐρανοῖς μὴ ποιῆτε, ἐκ τοῦ κόλπου μου ἀπορρίψω ὑμᾶς.

<sup>47</sup> See the criticism of Schmidtke's enormously influential proposals, in Jörg Frey, "Die Scholien nach dem 'jüdischen Evangelium' und das sogenannte Nazoräerevangelium", *ZNW* 94 (2003), 122–137.

<sup>48</sup> Pace Wilhelm Pratscher, "Johanneische Motive im Zweiten Clemensbrief", in *Im Geist und in der Wahrheit: Studien zum Johannesevangelium und zur Offenbarung des Johannes sowie andere Beiträge*, ed. Konrad Huber, Boris Repschinski (NA.NF 52; Münster: Aschendorff, 2008), 259–272.

Jesus's "commandments" 2 Clement evidences a Christology that (in agreement with the prologue of the homily) is higher than that of the gloss. That being said, it seems advisable to follow Tuckett in avoiding the application of too strict a developmental scheme with respect to Christology.<sup>49</sup> 2 Clement 4,5a and the Ἰουδαϊκόν gloss transmit the same tradition with specific modifications, but cannot be put within a rigid model of literary or tradition dependence.

The second half of 4,5 contains a saying that recalls in part a verse in the synoptic double tradition (Mt 7:23//Lk 13:27, with a much clearer resemblance to Luke: καὶ ἐρεῖ λέγων ὑμῖν· οὐκ οἶδα ὑμᾶς πόθεν ἐστέ· ἀπόστητε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, πάντες ἐργάται ἁδικίας)<sup>50</sup> and in part a version transmitted by Justin in his *1 Apology* 16,11 (καὶ τότε ἐρῶ αὐτοῖς· ἀποχωρεῖτε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, ἐργάται τῆς ἀνομίας). The similarity of our saying with Justin, who is clearly quoting here a series of *testimonia* or perhaps even a Gospel harmony based on Matthew and Luke, has been invoked by some scholars to hypothesize that 2 Clement had the same material behind it.<sup>51</sup> But the analogy between 2 Clement 4,5b and the saying quoted by Justin, albeit interesting, cannot support such a hypothesis, in particular since they fail to account for the items in the saying that are closer to Luke. Thus, even though one must note that 4,5b is the only passage in 2 Clement where the knowledge of "canonical" Luke is proved to a convincing degree, one must also agree with Tuckett on the fact that the phrase οὐκ οἶδα ὑμᾶς πόθεν ἐστέ provides strong evidence in support of a Lukan influence, particularly when one considers that 2 Clement 4 does not seem to have had any redactional reason to include such an element.<sup>52</sup>

The very observation that 2 Clement 4,5 reveals familiarity with a Lukan redaction of Q materials highlights also the fact, noted by Tuckett as well, that the relationship cannot be understood simply as some form of literary dependence. The differences between our saying and the Lukan version are small, but also all the more significant inasmuch as they involve elements that 2 Clement could not have had any redactional reason to change. In this perspective, the most signifi-

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49 Tuckett, *2 Clement and the Writings* (n. 39), 262–263.

50 With respect to the very conclusion of the verse, it is worth mentioning that some early witnesses (notably D and a quote from Epiphanius's *Ancoratus* 20,9) have the reading ἀνομίας. It is intriguing to imagine that this might have been the reading in Marcion's version of Luke, as possibly attested in the Adamantius dialogue, for which see Dieter T. Roth, *The Text of Marcion's Gospel* (NTTSD 49; Leiden: Brill, 2015), 378.

51 Notably, by Helmut Koester, *Ancient Christian Gospels* (Philadelphia [PA]: Trinity International, 1990), 356, and Arthur J. Bellinzoni, *The Sayings of Jesus in the Writings of Justin Martyr* (SupplNT 17; Leiden: Brill, 1967), 25.

52 Tuckett, *2 Clement and the Writings* (n. 39), 260–263.

cant modification is certainly the "fusion" of the double tradition saying with the "Jewish-Christian" one on the bosom. Elaborations such as this are very common in 2 Clement. Another well-known example is in chapter 5, where another saying from the synoptic double tradition (Jesus sending his disciples as lambs among wolves) is developed into a short explicative dialogue between the Lord and Peter.<sup>53</sup>

Traditional scholarship has mostly tried to understand these phenomena in terms of strict literary relationship between fixed and written documents. This state of affairs produced, for instance, the most extraordinary case in the history of modern research on 2 Clement in the dissertation of Rüdiger Warns, who tried to reconstruct even the order of the sayings in the apocryphal gospel that Clement had arguably used for all his quotations.<sup>54</sup> But this and other similar proposals fall short of providing convincing solutions for our problem. Something analogous has been already pointed out by Annewies Van den Hoek a few years ago with respect to Bellinzoni's well-known hypothesis to see a Gospel harmony behind all the quotations common to Justin, Clement of Alexandria, and other authors of the second century. Van den Hoek correctly observes that solutions that are too exclusively tied to rigid paradigms of literary dependence should be combined with due consideration of a more flexible imagination of the interference between oral and written channels of transmission.<sup>55</sup>

In more recent years, several authors have proposed to give more consideration, in cases such as that of 2 Clement, to the phenomenon of "secondary oralization", in which written texts are repeated, reworked, and modified orally before their new shape is once more recast in a written form. Again, Nicklas describes how this might have happened for Christian texts produced in the second century by designating their relationship to earlier and authoritative written texts as *Neu-Inszenierung*.<sup>56</sup> Texts that are not accessible to the majority of a community (because of predominant illiteracy, as in the early Christ groups) or for which the precise repetition of the exact wording is not considered important, are prone to undergo such a process. After having been "re-narrated" or "been

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53 Famously, this passage has been connected with P.Oxy. 4009 and with the Gospel of Peter by Dieter Lührmann, *Die apokryph gewordenen Evangelien* (SupplNT 112; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 73–86, but this proposal has been severely criticized, for instance by Paul Foster, *The Gospel of Peter: Introduction, Critical Edition, and Commentary* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 69–74.

54 Rüdiger Warns, *Untersuchungen zum 2. Clemensbrief*, diss. Marburg 1989.

55 Annewies Van den Hoek, "Divergent Gospel Traditions in Clement of Alexandria and Other Authors of the Second Century", *Apocrypha* 7 (1996): 43–62, even though the hypothesis of a catechetical use of these traditions needs further exploration for Clement of Alexandria.

56 For this term see also the contribution of Tobias Nicklas in the present volume.



put on the stage again”, the new form of the tradition is once more “frozen” into a written medium that might happen to survive up to our days (differently from what happens obviously to oral traditions).<sup>57</sup> Importantly and appropriately, Nicklas emphasizes as a decisive point that these “new-narratives”, albeit being different from their “original” in details or even in more substantial traits, are not and should not be considered as mere “renarrations” or “redacted versions”, but they counted for all intents and purposes as “the” narrative for the people who made use of them or put them into writing.

Such a description of the relationship between oral and written traditions of Jesus’s sayings seems to fit quite well what happens to these materials in 2 Clement. The anonymous author knows at least a written collection of sayings, which must be considered so authoritative to deserve to be designated as an εὐαγγέλιον. Alongside this collection, whose character seems to be different from any of the Gospels that have later become “canonical”, it is quite likely that the author of 2 Clement knew also materials from “canonical” Matthew and perhaps Luke (even though, for the latter, the evidence is far from overwhelming and might in fact indicate familiarity with a version of the Gospel different from the “canonical” one). However, these materials are significantly reshaped, harmonized, and – most importantly for the purposes of the present discussion – combined with sayings that have traditionally been labeled as “agrapha” in 2 Clement. These *Neu-Inszenierungen* of the sayings are not conceived by 2 Clement as mere “redacted version”, but – following the model sketched by Nicklas – they are actually “the” sayings of the Lord. When one looks at the treatment of Jesus’s sayings in 2 Clement from this perspective, the stance of the anonymous author of the writing does not appear radically different from that of Papias of Hierapolis, even though the latter expresses his view more explicitly. Papias knows directly and prizes some written traditions concerning Jesus’s teaching, but he treats them alongside oral traditions without any hesitancy.<sup>58</sup> However, it is important to emphasize – following the reading of Enrico Norelli – that Papias grounds the authority of the two gospels known to him (Mark and Matthew) on the fact that, according to him, they constitute a trustworthy and

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57 “Die Niederschrift einer solchen Erzählung setzt dann Aspekte dessen, was in der ‘Inszenierung’ durch mündliche Erzählung einmalig gewesen sein mag, fest, ja, um ein Bild zu verwenden, ‘friert’ sie geradezu ein”, in Tobias Nicklas, “Eine neue alte Erzählung im Rahmen antiker Jesustraditionen: Reste eines Exorzismus auf P.Oxy. lxxvi 5072”, *ASE* 29 (2012): 13–27, here 16.

58 Enrico Norelli, “Papias de Hiérapolis a-t-il utilisé un recueil ‘canonique’ des quatre évangiles?”, in *Le canon du Nouveau Testament: regards nouveaux sur l’histoire de sa formation*, ed. Gabriella Aragona, Eric Junod, Enrico Norelli (Le Monde de la Bible 54; Genève: Labor et Fides, 2005), 35–85.



orderly written composition of oral teachings stemming from a direct witness of Jesus's own preaching.<sup>59</sup> Papias's preference for the "living voice" might be mirrored also in the formula employed by 2 Clement to introduce his quotation from the εὐαγγέλιον: "the Lord says in the gospel."

## 4 Conclusion

The present paper has considered the contribution that the "agrapha" can offer to a more adequate understanding of the ways in which Jesus's sayings were transmitted, reshaped, and invented in the second century CE. Despite serious methodological and categorical problems, the "agrapha" provide interesting opportunities to think about such complex historical issues. I have focused on a couple of examples drawn from the large oeuvre of Clement of Alexandria and from the homily that is usually titled 2 Clement. In both cases – and at different chronological moments in the century – the treatment of "agrapha" by these two Christian authors highlights the rich variety of Jesus traditions at their disposal and the creative fluidity with which they combined and reshaped them. Moreover, the case of 2 Clement might reveal how Jesus' traditions were put into writing as the result of complex processes of secondary oralization and *Neu-Inszenierung*.

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59 "Dans les deux cas de *Mc* et de *Mt*, il résout ces problèmes en admettant que les écrits en circulation ne sont pas l'oeuvre de témoins oculaires, mais en établissant en même temps qu'ils ne sont pas infidèles, dans la substance, aux témoins oculaires dont ils dépendent directement. Papias cautionne donc des écrits comme porteurs de tradition fiable sur Jésus, mais il est loin de les considérer comme les porteurs autorisés de cette tradition", in Enrico Norelli, "Le statut des textes chrétiens de l'oralité à l'écriture et leur rapport avec l'institution au II<sup>e</sup> siècle", in *Recueils normatifs et canons dans l'Antiquité: perspectives nouvelles sur la formation des canons juifs et chrétiens dans leur context culturel*, ed. Enrico Norelli (PIRSB 3; Lausanne: Zèbre, 2004), 147–194, here 168.



John Kloppenborg

## Conflated Citations of the Synoptic Gospels: The Beginnings of Christian Doxographic Tradition?

There has long been a debate concerning supposed citations of, or allusions to, what eventually became the Synoptic gospels.<sup>1</sup> When second century authors cite as a saying of Jesus words that approximate – but only approximate – what is found in one of the Synoptics, several ways to understand such citations are in principle available: that the second century author is citing directly or indirectly written versions of the Synoptics with any variations attributed either to the faulty memory of that author, or to deliberate editing; that the citation is indeed from a written version of one of the Synoptics, but its deviations from the known texts of the Synoptic point to a textual tradition that failed to win the day but was still alive in the second century; that the second century author is not citing any written texts but is relying on an oral version of Jesus' sayings, transmitted quite independently of the Synoptics; that the deviations of the second century citation points to pre-Synoptic formulations; or that the ways in which the citation departs from known Synoptic texts is the result of post-synoptic developments. Even in the case where a second century author cites a saying of Jesus that is identical with its counterpart in one of the Synoptics it is theoretically possible that it is based on pre-Synoptic written or oral tradition that was also embraced by the Synoptics, or one of the Synoptics themselves, or on some post-Synoptic composition.<sup>2</sup>

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1 William Sanday, *The Gospels in the Second Century: An Examination of the Critical Part of a Work Entitled "Supernatural Religion"* (London: Macmillan, 1876); Committee of the Oxford Society of Historical Theology, *The New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1905); Edouard Massaux, *Influence de l'évangile de saint Matthieu sur la littérature chrétienne avant saint Irénée* (Louvain; Universitaires de Louvain; Gembloux: J. Duculot, 1950); Helmut Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung bei den apostolischen Vätern*, TU 65 (Berlin: Akademie, 1957); Wolf-Dietrich Köhler, *Die Rezeption des Matthäusevangeliums in der Zeit vor Irenäus*, WUNT 2.24 (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1987); Andrew Gregory and Christopher M. Tuckett, eds., *The Reception of the New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

2 See the helpful terminological typology proposed by Andrew Gregory and Christopher M. Tuckett, "Reflections on Method: What Constitutes the Use of the Writings That Later Formed the New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers?," in *The Reception of the New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers*, ed. Andrew Gregory and Christopher M. Tuckett (Oxford: Oxford University

One of the important advances in reducing at least some of these options to a manageable few was the intervention of Helmut Köster, who insisted that one could demonstrate the literary dependence of a later author on a known gospel text only if the secondary text betrayed knowledge of redactional features of the putative source text.<sup>3</sup> The application of this principle, as Köhler and others have noted, results in a rather small number of loci where one can conclude with some certainty that the written form of one of the synoptic gospels has been employed either directly or indirectly by the later author. But in cases where no obviously redactional features appear it cannot necessarily be concluded with certainty that the written gospel was not used.<sup>4</sup>

In this essay I wish to explore a particular subset of citations and allusions that pass Koester's test (or at least give every evidence of having derived ultimately or proximately) from the written form of the synoptic gospels, but which also betray elements of two gospels, normally Matthew and Luke. Such conflated citations appear especially in the *sectio evangelica* of the Didache (1.3–2.1), in the Gospel of the Ebionites, in 2 Clement, and in the writings of Justin Martyr.

Conflated readings raise three critical issues. First, in order to effect a conflation of Matthew and Luke it is obviously necessary that both gospels be present to the secondary user.<sup>5</sup> In the case of compound citations of, for example, Homer, in classical literature, the accessibility of texts of Homer is rarely an issue, the dissemination of Homer being so great.<sup>6</sup> It is also probably safe to as-

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Press, 2005), 61–82, here 64, who distinguished marked and unmarked “quotations,” allusions, and paraphrases.

<sup>3</sup> Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung* (n. 1), 3, commenting on apparent citations of saying of the “Lord,” “Stehen aber die angeführten Stücke unter der Autorität des Herrn und läßt sich aus keinem der Quellenhinweise auf die Benutzung eines Evangeliums schließen, so hängt die Frage der Benutzung davon ab, ob sich in den angeführten Stücken Redaktionsarbeit eines Evangelisten findet.” Koester reiterates this principle in his review of the republication of Massaux: Helmut Koester, “Written Gospels or Oral Tradition?,” *JBL* 113.2 (1994): 293–97.

<sup>4</sup> Köhler, *Die Rezeption des Matthäusevangeliums* (n. 1), 2–5. Similarly, Gregory and Tuckett, “Reflections On Method” (n. 2), 71–72.

<sup>5</sup> See the recent anthology of essays on composite (or compound) citations: Sean A. Adams and Seth M. Ehorn, eds., *Composite Citations in Antiquity*, Library of New Testament Studies 525 (London and New York: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2016).

<sup>6</sup> See Sean A. Adams, “Greek Education and Composite Citations of Homer,” in *Composite Citations in Antiquity* (n. 5), 17–34, exploring compound citations of Homer in Plato, Xenophon, Plutarch (and Ps-Plutarch), Porphyry and in school texts. Adams argues that there are three general features of such composite citations: Some “have a summative function, allowing the author to draw upon material from one passage while excising irrelevant or potentially distracting material.” (2) Others “allowed the author to create a tailored saying by combining two or more parts

sume that the Jewish Bible was available to most of the Christian authors of the second century. In the case of Synoptic materials in the second century, however, it is necessary to build a reasonable case for the assumption that both Matthew and Luke were in fact available to authors who cited the synoptic tradition. Without one or both being accessible, what might appear to be a conflated citation would have to be interpreted in some other way. Second, in order to address the issue of a conflated text is the work of the author of the work in which it now appears – say, 2 Clement or Justin – or whether that author is merely citing some prior conflation, it is useful to compare the way that authors cite other textual authorities. Are authorities from classical sources and the Jewish Bible cited in the same way that sayings from the Jesus tradition are cited? Or is the Jesus tradition cited in a different way from other sources of textual authority? Do any of those citations display a tendency to create composite or compound citations. And third, we need to reflect on the cognitive and technical challenges involved in creating conflated citations, and whether there are any ancient analogies for compound or conflated citations.

## 1 Luke in the Second Century

The first issue flows from the observation of Arthur Bellinzoni in his essay “The Gospel of Luke in the Apostolic Fathers: An Overview” who argued that of the Apostolic Fathers, none but 2 Clement and Did. 1.3–2.1 shows any influence of Luke.<sup>7</sup> Barnabas 4.14 may have a citation of Matt 20:16, although if so, it is the only clear citation of Matthew in Barnabas. There is no reason to suspect any knowledge of Luke.<sup>8</sup> Nor is there any evidence in Hermas of the use of Luke (or any of the Synoptics), which given the usual suppositions about Hermas’ date of composition is striking.<sup>9</sup>

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of Homer. In these cases the author brings together two disparate parts of Homer to create a new phrase/line that specifically fulfils the author’s needs.” (3) Others still were demonstrations of the author’s literary prowess” (p. 33).

<sup>7</sup> Arthur J. Bellinzoni, “The Gospel of Luke in the Apostolic Fathers: An Overview,” in *Trajectories Through the New Testament and the Apostolic Fathers*, ed. Andrew Gregory and Christopher M. Tuckett (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 45–68. In what follows I shall concentrate only on evidence of knowledge of Luke, not Matthew, which appears to have become available earlier than Luke.

<sup>8</sup> Massaux, *Influence de Matthieu* (n. 1), 65, 74; Bellinzoni, “Gospels and Gospel Traditions” (n. 7), 61–62.

<sup>9</sup> Bellinzoni, “Gospels and Gospel Traditions” (n. 7), 62. See also Donald A. Hagner, “The Sayings of Jesus in the Apostolic Fathers and Justin Martyr,” in *Gospel Perspectives. Vol. 5: The Jesus*

## 1.1 1 Clement

There is near unanimity that 1 Clement shows no influence at all from Luke.<sup>10</sup> The citation of the saying of Jesus in 1 Clem. 46.8, introduced by εἶπεν γάρ, disagrees with Matt 18:7, 6; Luke 17:1–2; Mark 9:42 and indeed Q 17:1–2 in too many respects, and lacks any features of the redaction of Matthew and Luke, to provide a basis for any argument of literary dependence.<sup>11</sup> Likewise, the citation in 1 Clem. 13.2, prefaced by οὕτως γὰρ εἶπεν, appears to be a saying parallel to, but independent of Mark 4:24 and Q 6:27–38 and their successors since while it comes closer to the Q version than to Mark, it betrays none of the editorial features of Matt 7:1–2 or Luke 6:37–38. Köster suggested that Clement was dependent upon a “schriftliche Herrenwortsammlung,” but Gregory’s observation that the rhythmic structure of 1 Clem. 13.2 better accords with an oral performance is just as likely.<sup>12</sup> Given the likely dating of 1 Clement in the Trajanic or Hadrianic period,<sup>13</sup> and an early second century date for Luke, it is unlikely in any event that 1 Clement knew and used Luke.

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*Tradition Outside the Gospels*, ed. David Wenham (Sheffield: JSOT, 1985), 243–44; Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung* (n. 1), 242–56: “Wenn sich auch einige – bei dem großen Umfang der Schrift allerdings sehr wenige – Stellen im Hirten finden, die auf ein Evangelium (Mk.) zurückgehen könnten, so kann von einer wirklichen Benutzung eines Evangeliums doch keine Rede sein. Bedenkt man allerdings, daß der Hirte gegen die Mitte des 2. Jh. in Rom entstanden ist, so sollte man doch erwarten, daß er die Evangelien kannte. Jedoch beweisen läßt sich das nicht.” (255–56); Andrew Gregory, *The Reception of Luke and Acts in the Period Before Irenaeus*, WUNT 2.169 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003) does not devote a chapter to Hermas, and Joseph Verheyden, “The Shepherd of Hermas and the Writings That Later Formed the New Testament,” in *The Reception of the New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers*, ed. Andrew Gregory and Christopher M. Tuckett (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 293–329 reports no likely suspects. <sup>10</sup> Karl August Credner, *Beiträge zur Einleitung in das Neue Testament* (Halle: Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, 1832), 26–27; Edouard Massaux, *The Influence of the Gospel of Matthew on Christian Literature Before Saint Irenaeus* (Leuven: Peeters; Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1986), 1:33; Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung* (n. 1), 23; Hagner, “Sayings of Jesus in the Apostolic Fathers and Justin Martyr” (n. 9), 239; Gregory, *Reception* (n. 1), 125–29; Bellinzoni, “Gospels and Gospel Traditions” (n. 7), 53–54.

<sup>11</sup> Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung* (n. 1), 16–19.

<sup>12</sup> Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung* (n. 1), 16; Gregory, *Reception* (n. 1), 128.

<sup>13</sup> Larry L. Welborn, “On the Date of First Clement,” *Biblical Research* 29 (1984): 35–54.

## 1.2 Ignatius of Antioch

Whether Ignatius displays knowledge of Luke depends entirely on one's assessment of Ign. Smyrn. 3.2.<sup>14</sup> Massaux pointed out that although there are some general similarities between Luke 24:39 and Ignatius, early commentators including Origen, Eusebius, and Jerome connected the citation with the Matthew (Jerome), Gospel of the Hebrews (Jerome) or the Doctrina Petri (Origen) or simply professed ignorance (Eusebius). Massaux, who was otherwise eager to find instances of literary dependence, concluded that dependence on Luke is "very doubtful."<sup>15</sup> Schoedel invokes a criterion which Bellinzoni calls "recurrence" – whether the author cites the gospel in question elsewhere. In this case, since Ignatius is not suspected of having cited Luke elsewhere, it is unlikely that he is citing Luke here. Schoedel falls back on a notion that Luke and Ignatius might rely on a common tradition.<sup>16</sup>

## 1.3 Didache (excluding 1.3 – 2.1)

The Didache, apart from Did. 1.3 – 2.1, likewise gives little purchase for a theory of knowledge of Luke. The only text that comes into question is Did. 16.1, with its combination of the imperative γρηγορεῖτε, which has the closest affinities with Matt 24:42; 25:13 and Mark 13:35, and the image of non-extinguished lamps and ungirded loins, which is similar to Luke 12:35, and the injunction, γίνεσθε ἑτοιμοὶ οὐ γὰρ οἴδατε τὴν ὥραν ἐν ἧ ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν ἔρχεται, which is close to Q 12:40, καὶ ὑμεῖς γίνεσθε ἑτοιμοὶ, ὅτι ἡ οὐ δοκεῖτε ὥρα ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου

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**14** Ign. Smyrn. 3.2: καὶ ὅτε πρὸς τοὺς περὶ Πέτρον ἦλθεν ἔφη αὐτοῖς· λάβετε ψηλαφήσατέ με καὶ ἴδετε ὅτι οὐκ εἰμι δαιμόνιον ἀσώματον καὶ εὐθὺς αὐτοῦ ἦψαντο καὶ ἐπίστευσαν κραθέντες τῇ σαρκὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῷ πνεύματι and Luke 24:39: ἴδετε τὰς χεῖράς μου καὶ τοὺς πόδας μου ὅτι ἐγὼ εἰμι αὐτός· ψηλαφήσατέ με καὶ ἴδετε, ὅτι πνεῦμα σάρκα καὶ ὅστέα οὐκ ἔχει καθὼς ἐμὲ θεωρεῖτε ἔχοντα.

**15** Massaux, "Influence of the Gospel of Matthew" (n. 10), 1:99. Similarly, Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung* (n. 1), 50 – 56, 61 (with a detailed discussion of patristic attributions of the saying); Hagner, "Sayings of Jesus in the Apostolic Fathers and Justin Martyr" (n. 9), 239 – 40: "impossible to deny the possibility that oral tradition rather than dependence upon the gospels may explain the words"; Gregory, *Reception* (n. 1), 70 – 74: "no compelling reason why any literary relationship at all need be postulated by Luke and Ignatius" (71); Bellinzoni, "Gospels and Gospel Traditions" (n. 7), 58.

**16** William R. Schoedel, *Ignatius of Antioch: A Commentary on the Letters of Ignatius of Antioch*, Hermeneia (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985), 226 – 27; Arthur J. Bellinzoni, ed., *The Two-Source Hypothesis: A Critical Appraisal* (Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1985).

ἔρχεται and its successors in Matthew and Luke. In respect to the final phrase, there is no way to distinguish between the dependence of the Didache on Matthew, Luke, or Q, or on some traditional injunction that also appeared in Q. The critical issue has to do with the second element, the injunction about lamps and loins.

A decision depends on whether Luke 12:35 can be treated as Lukan redaction of Q or whether the image of lamps and loins already belonged to Q (in which case one might argue that the Didache and Q are related),<sup>17</sup> or whether the image is simply traditional, incorporated into Luke (or Q) and the Didache independently.<sup>18</sup> Tuckett acknowledges that the image of girding one's loins is common and traditional, but its combination with that of lit lamps is more difficult to find.<sup>19</sup> He doubts that Luke 12:35 comes from Q, and this being the case, it should be seen as Lukan redaction. In this case, the Didache would pass Koester's test and the Didache would be dependent on the written form of Luke.<sup>20</sup> Yet the problem of Luke's source for 12:35(36–38) remains, and Gregory raises the possibility that "Luke might draw on the Didache, the Didachist might draw on Luke, or

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**17** Basil C. Butler, "The Literary Relations of Didache, Ch. XVI," *JTS* 11 (1960): 265–83 has argued that the agreements between Did. 16.1 and Luke 12:35 are due to Lukan redaction.

**18** Richard Glover, "The Didache's Quotations and the Synoptic Gospels," *NTS* 5.1 (1958–59): 22 draws attention to lack of other citations of Luke: "whoever supposes that the Didachist knew Luke must explain why he found that author worth quoting only when he reproduced Q, material." Jonathan A. Draper, "The Jesus Tradition in the Didache," in *Gospel Perspectives. Vol. 5: The Jesus Tradition Outside the Gospels*, ed. David Wenham (Sheffield: JSOT, 1985), 280.

**19** Christopher M. Tuckett, "Synoptic Tradition in the Didache," in *The New Testament in Early Christianity: La réception des écrits néotestamentaires dans le christianisme primitif*, ed. J.M. Sevrin, BETL 86 (Leuven: Peeters and Leuven University Press, 1989), 197–230, here 213. Richard J. Bauckham, "Synoptic Parousia Parables Again," *NTS* 29.1 (1983): 129–34, here 131 refers to Methodius, Symp. 57.2 (III C.E.): Καθ' ὃν τρόπον καὶ ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν ἐν εὐαγγελίοις παρακελεύεται Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, ὥδε νομοθετῶν· "οἱ λύχνοι ὑμῶν μὴ σβεννύσθωσαν, καὶ αἱ ὀσφύες ὑμῶν μὴ λυέσθωσαν". Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ "ὕμεις ὅμοιοι γίνεσθε ἀνθρώποις προσδεχομένοις τὸν κύριον αὐτῶν, πότε ἀναλύσει ἐκ τῶν γάμων, ἵνα ἐλθόντι καὶ κρούσαντι αὐτῶ εὐθέως ἀνοίξωσι. Μακάριοί ἐστε, ὅτι ἀνακλινεῖ ὑμᾶς καὶ παρελθὼν διακονήσῃ· κἂν τῇ δευτέρᾳ, κἂν τῇ τρίτῃ, μακάριοί ἐστε". The second part of the citation conforms to Luke 12:36–38 but the first part agrees with Did. 16.1 rather than Luke 12:35. Bauckham concludes, "This agreement cannot be accidental, but it is hard to be sure how it should be explained. Methodius' text could be influenced by the Didache, or it may be independent testimony to the same non-Lukan version of the saying which the Didache quotes. In that case it would confirm the Didache's independence of our gospels at this point."

**20** Tuckett, "Synoptic Tradition" (n. 19), 214; id., "The Didache and the Writings That Later Formed the New Testament," in *The Reception of the New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers*, ed. Andrew Gregory and Christopher M. Tuckett (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 83–127, here 112.



each might draw independently on the same or similar tradition(s) or source(s).”<sup>21</sup>

Harry Fleddermann is more confident that Luke 12:35 is Lukan redaction, the product of Luke’s expansion of Q. He treats Luke 12:35–38 as an instance of Lukan “mid-level” redaction of Q, characterized by (1) Lukan additions of thematic summaries, (2) the slight rearrangement of elements within Q pericopae, (3) the insertion of editorial comments to break up long blocks of Q into shorter dialogues or chriae, (4) the expansion or duplication of Q sayings, (5) the incorporation of Markan elements into Q texts, and (6) the creation of a second “story line” in Q.<sup>22</sup> Luke 12:35–38 is an example of his fourth technique, the composition of new material to supplement Q, in this case to comment on the theme of reward and punishment in Q 12:43–44 and 12:45–46.<sup>23</sup> Yet 12:35–38 can be understood only with difficulty as a Lukan elaboration of Q 12:42–46, even though it replicates or adapts some elements of Q, especially Luke 12:37 (→ Q 12:43) and 12:38 (→ Q 12:46). But the odd scenario of the slave owner, who is being awaited after returning from a wedding, girding himself, having his slaves recline, and serving them (περιζώσεται καὶ ἀνακλινεῖ αὐτοὺς καὶ παρελθὼν διακονήσει αὐτοῖς) not only has nothing to do with Q 12:39–40, 42–46 and is hardly an elaboration or expansion of ἐπὶ πᾶσιν τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν αὐτοῦ καταστήσει αὐτόν (12:44); but it also collides with Luke’s sentiments in Luke 17:7–10.<sup>24</sup>

This contradiction has produced to a variety of solutions: that Luke 12:36–37a.38 is from Q, and that 37b is a Lukan redactional formulation;<sup>25</sup> or that v. 37b is a secondary but pre-Lukan addition to the parable;<sup>26</sup> or that Luke 12:37b is a remnant of authentic Jesus’ tradition like Luke 22:27 which puts Jesus in the role of ὁ διακονῶν.<sup>27</sup> If Q (and Luke) 12:42–46 had in mind

<sup>21</sup> Gregory, *Reception* (n. 1), 120.

<sup>22</sup> Harry T. Fleddermann, “Mid-Level Techniques in Luke’s Redaction of Q,” *ETL* 79.1 (2003): 53–71.

<sup>23</sup> Fleddermann, “Mid-Level Techniques”, (n. 22), 59.

<sup>24</sup> Luke 17:8 ἀλλ’ οὐχὶ ἐρεῖ αὐτῷ· ἐτοίμασον τί δειπνήσω καὶ περιζωσάμενος διακονεῖ μοι ἕως φάγω καὶ πίω, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα φάγεσαι καὶ πίεσαι σύ;

<sup>25</sup> Alfons Weiser, *Die Knechtsgeheimnisse der synoptischen Evangelien*, SANT 29 (Munich: Kösel, 1971), 170–72: “Lukas hat sehr wahrscheinlich V. 37a mit γρηγοροῦντας und die Amen-Formel V. 37b bereits aus Q übernommen. Die konkrete Ausgestaltung der eschatologischen Verheißung in V. 37b wird Lukas selbst vorgenommen haben” (171).

<sup>26</sup> Joachim Jeremias, *The Parables of Jesus*, Rev. edition, trans. S.H. Hooke (London: SCM Press; New York: Scribner’s, 1972), 54 n. 18.

<sup>27</sup> I. Howard Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke: A Commentary on the Greek Text*, NIGTC (Exeter: Paternoster Press; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978), 537: “The concept is so firmly anchored in the

the Parousia, then Jülicher's observation, made more than a century ago, is pertinent: "das 'Anklopfen' ... passt wenig zu dem Bilde der Parusie, das [12] <sup>39f. 17 24</sup> <sub>31-37</sub> entworfen wird."<sup>28</sup> The scenario of 12:35–38 is of slaves *awaiting* a returning owner at a time that is generally predictable, but 12:39–40 and 12:42–46 trade in the image of the unpredictable appearance of the owner, either as a housebreaker, or as an absentee visiting his estate. In other words, if Luke has created 12:35–38, he has fundamentally altered the narrative image.

The anomalous features of 12:35–38 cannot, it seems to me, be imagined as the result of Luke's editorial composition of the parable as an elaborative comment on Q 12:42–46. One might suppose that Luke has taken another parable, either from Q or from some other source, and assimilated it to Q's phraseology. In that case he did not manage to domesticate the parable entirely. Or, perhaps Luke 12:37b is a post-Lukan interpolation, and Luke's original composition illustrated the reward of the slaves in a different manner that is no longer accessible. Or, one might argue that Luke has incorporated a comic scenario drawn from the Saturnalia, in which the roles of slave owners and slaves are temporarily inverted for comic effect. But in that case, Luke 12:42–46 re-inverts the situation back to "normality," where owners reward and punish slaves, not the other way around. Additionally, Luke 12:35–38 and Luke 17:7–10 must be considered together, since they trade in the same language of having a meal prepared, reclining, and eating, but in the latter case it is the owner, not the slave to is the subject of these actions. An account of Luke's redaction would, presumably, have either to treat the two as coming from different levels of editing – for example, 12:35–38 as Lukan source material and 17:7–10 as Lukan editorial (or *vice versa*) – or propose a narrative solution in which 17:7–10 develops and qualifies the earlier parable (although I don't see a plausible way to do this).

The problems associated with Luke 12:35–38 are sufficiently weighty to cast read doubt on whether this is a Lukan creation, which is the only circumstance under which one would legitimately invoke Koester's criterion to declare the Didache dependent on Luke.

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teaching and activity of Jesus that there is no reason to suspect that the early church has imported the idea here." See also John Nolland, *Luke*, WBC 35 A-C (Dallas: Word Books, 1989–93), 701. <sup>28</sup> Adolf Jülicher, *Die Gleichnisreden Jesu*, 2. Aufl. (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1888–1899 [repr. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1963, 1976]), 2:166.

## 1.4 Polycarp of Smyrna

In regard to Polycarp, Sanday thought that Pol. Phil. 2.3 which has elements of Matt 7:1; 5:10 and Luke 6:37–38, was due to the vagaries of memory, but suggested that “there has been somewhere a written version different from our gospels to which [Polycarp] and Clement have had access.”<sup>29</sup> The Oxford Committee concluded vaguely that Polycarp simply presupposed that material “oral or written [and] similar to the Sermon on the Mount, was familiar to the Philippian Church.”<sup>30</sup> Hagner also noted the similarities with 1 Clement, but concluded that the differences in wording, number and order “may point to memorized oral tradition as the source of these sayings of Jesus” and so concluded that Polycarp drew on oral tradition.<sup>31</sup>

Köster is no doubt correct that the strongest affinities of Pol. Phil. 2.3 are with 1 Clem. 13.2; yet Polycarp’s *μὴ κρίνετε ἵνα μὴ κριθῆτε* and the concluding beatitude, with its phrase *μακάριοι ... οἱ διωκόμενοι ἕνεκεν δικαιοσύνης* look to be an assimilation to Matt 7:1 and 5:10. Moreover, because Polycarp’s compound verb *ἀντιμετρηθήσεται* agrees with Luke 6:38c (=Luke<sup>R</sup>), Köster concludes, “er scheint also auch hier den Wortlaut eines der synoptischen Evangelien der Wiedergabe bei 1 Clem. vorzuziehen.”<sup>32</sup> Yet as Dehandschutter observes, when Clement of Alexandria cites 1 Clem. 13.2, he does so with *ἀντιμετρηθήσεται* rather than the simple verb,<sup>33</sup> which complicates any presumed relationship between Luke 6:37–38, 1 Clem. 13.2 and Polycarp, and might allow cross influence between Luke and 1 Clement, especially if they are of roughly the same vintage.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Sanday, *The Gospels in the Second Century* (n. 1), 86; Richard Glover, “Patristic Quotations and Gospel Sources,” *NTS* 31.2 (1985): 234–51 argued that Polycarp possessed a Q-like document also known to Justin and 1 Clement.

<sup>30</sup> Committee of the Oxford Society of Historical Theology (n. 1), 102.

<sup>31</sup> Hagner, “Sayings of Jesus in the Apostolic Fathers and Justin Martyr” (n. 9), 236.

<sup>32</sup> Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung* (n. 1), 117.

<sup>33</sup> Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 2.18.91.2: “ἐλεᾶτε,” φησὶν ὁ κύριος, “ἵνα ἐλεηθῆτε· ἀφίετε, ἵνα ἀφεθῇ ὑμῖν· ὡς ποιεῖτε, οὕτως ποιηθήσεται ὑμῖν· ὡς δίδοτε, οὕτως δοθήσεται ὑμῖν· ὡς κρίνετε, οὕτως κριθήσεσθε· ὡς χρηστεύεσθε, οὕτως χρηστευθήσεται ὑμῖν· ὃ μέτρῳ μετρεῖτε, ἀντιμετρηθήσεται ὑμῖν.”

<sup>34</sup> Gregory, *Reception* (n. 1), 134, without noting Clement of Alexandria’s version of 1 Clem. 13.2, nevertheless is hesitant to accept Köster’s conclusion of the influence of Luke on Polycarp. Michael W. Holmes, “Polycarp’s Letter to the Philippians and the Writings That Later Formed the New Testament,” in *The Reception of the New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers*, ed. Andrew Gregory and Christopher M. Tuckett (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 187–227, here 193, 194 argues that in relation to Pol. Phil. 2.3a a relationship with 1 Clement cannot be demonstrated more precisely, and in relation to Pol. Phil. 2.3b knowledge of Matthew and Luke is possible “but not demonstrable.”

## 1.5 Didache 1.3–2.1

This leaves Did. 1.3–2.1 as a clearer instance of the use of Luke. There is little doubt that this section is a later interpolation into the Two Ways section, interrupting the transition between 1.2 and 2.2 but more debate about whether the synoptic-like sayings in this section depend ultimately on Matthew and/or Luke. Glover mooted the notion that this section of the Didache was dependent on Q<sup>35</sup> while more recently Rordorf and Tuilier argued that at least the Didachist knew no written text of the New Testament.<sup>36</sup> Niederwimmer concluded that the christianizing insertion in Did. 1.3–2.1 depends not on Matthew and Luke but on either oral tradition or “(perhaps better) ... an apocryphal sayings collection.”<sup>37</sup> The most recent monographic study of the Didache by Huub van de Sandt and David Flusser argues that Did. 1.3–2.1 “preserve[s] a Jesus tradition independently of the gospels of Matthew and Luke.”<sup>38</sup>

Yet sixty years ago Koester drew attention to the striking difference between the citations techniques evident in Did. 1.3–2.1 on the one hand and elsewhere in the Didache, on the other. “Überhaupt scheint der Kompilator der Did. seine Traditionen und Quellen sehr getreu wiederzugeben und sie nur in sehr geringem Maße zu bearbeiten. Ganz anders der Redaktor von Did. 1.3ff.: Aus Mt. und Luk. stammende Logien sind – teils stark verändert – mit einem anderen

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**35** Glover, “Didache’s Quotations” (n. 18); Draper, “Jesus Tradition” (n. 18), 269–87, here 279.

**36** Willy Rordorf and André Tuilier, *La Doctrine des douze apôtres (Didachè): introduction, texte, traduction, notes, appendice et index, Deuxième édition, revue et augmentée*, SC 248 (Paris: Cerf, 1998), 232: “la Didachè ne dépend pas des évangiles que nous possédons et qu’elle remonte en conséquence à une époque ancienne”; Willy Rordorf, “Does the Didache Contain Jesus Tradition Independently of the Synoptic Gospels,” in *Jesus and the Oral Gospel Tradition*, ed. Henry Wansbrough, JSNTSup 64 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1991), 394–423; id., “Le problème de la transmission textuelle de Didache 1,3b-2,1,” in *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen*, ed., Franz Paschke, TU 125 (Berlin: Akademie, 1981), 499–513. Earlier, Jean Paul Audet, *La Didachè: Instructions des apôtres*, EBib (Paris: Gabalda, 1958), 186: “Nous allons maintenant voir que la date approximative où l’interpolateur a fait à la Didachè ses additions, ne permet guère de songer à un mélange textuel provenant des deux Synoptiques.” Aaron Milavec, “Synoptic Tradition in the Didache Revisited,” *JECS* 11.4 (2003): 443–80 has mounted the most recent defence of independence, but this has been answered by Christopher M. Tuckett, “The Didache and the Synoptics Once More: A Response to Aaron Milavec,” *JECS* 13.4 (2005): 509–18 (Response by Milavec, 519–23).

**37** Kurt Niederwimmer, *The Didache: A Commentary*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1998), 76, 80.

**38** Huub van de Sandt and David Flusser, *The Didache: Its Jewish Sources and Its Place in Early Judaism and Christianity*, vol. III/5 of *Compendium Rerum Judaicarum ad Novum Testamentum*; (Assen: Van Gorcum; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2002), 39, 48.

offenbar jüdischen Traditionsstück (1.5) und einem apokryphen Schriftwort (1.6) zu einem Ganzen verbunden.”<sup>39</sup>

This difference underscored to Koester the necessity to distinguish between the editor of the Didache in general, and the interpolator of chapter 1.

The rigorous application of Koester’s criteria for establishing literary dependence is of course impeded by uncertainties about the nature and extent of Matthaean and Lukan redaction in Matt 5:39–42, 44, 45–47 and Luke 6:27–28, 29–30, 32–35 and, consequently, the text of Q 6:27–35. Tuckett was unable to identify any redactional features in Did. 1.3a, even though it agrees with some elements of Matthew (προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ, τῶν διωκόντων ὑμᾶς) and other elements of Luke (εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους ὑμῖν). Tuckett urged that ἐπηρεάζοντων ὑμᾶς (Luke) represents Q here, and accordingly suggested that this “small agreement” with Matthew may be a place where the Didache reflects Matthaean redaction.<sup>40</sup> It should be noted that this was also the original decision of the IQP.<sup>41</sup> This decision, however, was reversed in the Critical Edition, which printed ὑπὲρ τῶν [διωκόντων] ὑμᾶς but only with a {C} level of probability, which would imply the Didache’s knowledge of Lukan editing.<sup>42</sup> Given the uncertainties concerning the reconstruction of Q, it is not possible to decide whether Did. 1.3b reflects Lukan redaction or not.

A slightly stronger indication of knowledge of Luke appears in Did. 1.3b where the Didache agrees with Luke’s ποῖα γὰρ χάρις against Matthew’s τίνα μισθὸν ἔχετε, even though as I have suggested, the Didache continues with ἐὰν φιλήτε τοὺς φιλοῦντας ὑμᾶς against the consensus of Matthew and Luke, who

<sup>39</sup> Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung* (n. 1), 238.

<sup>40</sup> Tuckett, “Synoptic Tradition” (n. 19), 219–20, quoting 1 Pet 3:16, which uses the word in a similar context: ἀλλὰ μετὰ πραΰτητος καὶ φόβου, συνείδησιν ἔχοντες ἀγαθὴν, ἵνα ἐν ᾧ καταλαεῖσθε καταισχυνθῶσιν οἱ ἐπηρεάζοντες ὑμῶν τὴν ἀγαθὴν ἐν Χριστῷ ἀναστροφὴν. See also Tuckett, “The Didache” (n. 36), 121.

<sup>41</sup> Milton C. Moreland and James M. Robinson, “The International Q Project Work Sessions 6–8 August, 18–19 November 1993,” *JBL* 113.3 (1994): 496. R. Conrad Douglas, who prepared the database, and Sean Carruth and Ronald Piper who responded to it, all proposed a conjectural emendation: ὑπὲρ τῶν [μισόντων] ὑμᾶς, but this was eventually rejected by the IQP, following Paul Hoffmann’s argument, in favor of Luke’s ἐπηρεάζοντων ὑμᾶς “or undecided.”

<sup>42</sup> Paul Hoffmann’s responsum (15 vii 1993): “Das mt δῶκω läßt sich für Q nicht ausschließen, da QR auch in 11:49 die Verfolgungssituation der Boten thematisiert und der Terminus auch in 6:22b schon verwendet worden sein kann (!). Gegen δῶκω = Q spricht allerdings, daß die in Q folgenden Sprüche keinen Bezug zu einer solchen Verfolgungssituation erkennen lassen (anders 12:2ff. nach 11:49–51). Ist die Einfügung des Motivs das Werk einer oder der späteren QR? Oder ist für Q eine unspezifischere Formulierung voraussetzen?”

have ἐὰν (εἰ) ἀγαπήσητε (ἀγαπᾶτε) τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας ὑμᾶς.<sup>43</sup> Tuckett is right, I think, to suggest Lukan editing here, reflecting Hellenistic reciprocity ethics according to which virtuous behavior was expected to garner praise and reciprocal favor.<sup>44</sup> It could be added that Matthew and Q's μισθός is inapposite to this usage, since the basic meaning of the term is "wages," hardly "commendation" or "praise." Even though Luke at 6:35b reverts to Q's μισθός (an instance of Luke's "reminiscence" of Q) his alteration of Q at 6:32–34 can be regarded as shifting the linguistic register upwards, from the realm of agricultural employment typical of Q, to that of the performance and recognition of civic virtues.<sup>45</sup>

The Didache has taken this transformation further. The Didache's argument is controlled by a pragmatic concern to win over the opponent by means of blessing, prayer and fasting. In this respect it converges with a parallel development, seen in P.Oxy. X 1224: κ[αὶ] π[ρ]οσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ [τῶν ἐχθ]ρῶν ὑμῶν· ὁ γὰρ μὴ ὧν [κατὰ ὑμ]ῶν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐστίν. [σήμερον ὧ]ν μακράν, αὔριον [ἐγγύς ὑμῶν γ]ενήσεται, καὶ ἐν [...]. τοῦ ἀντιδίκου... "And pray for your enemies; for the one who is not [against yo]u is for you. [Those] far away [today], tomorrow will be [near you] and in [...] the advers[ary]."<sup>46</sup>

The Didache's application stands in rather sharp contrast to the argument of Q and its successors, for whom love, blessing, and prayer are demonstrative, designed to distinguish the ethos of the Jesus movement from others. In Matthew and probably in Q the purpose of the countercultural behavior is demonstrative, to act in congruity with God, whose benefactions rise above the distinctions of the just and the wicked. Luke's point is only slightly different, concluding with two result clauses, καὶ ἔσται ὁ μισθός ὑμῶν πολὺς, καὶ ἔσεσθε υἱοὶ ὑψίστου... (6:35b). Luke's argument resembles that of 1 Pet 2:11–20 which, as

<sup>43</sup> John S. Kloppenborg, "The Use of the Synoptics or Q in Did. 1.3b–2.1," in *The Didache and Matthew: Two Documents from the Same Jewish-Christian Milieu?*, ed., Huub van de Sandt (Assen: Van Gorcum; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2005), 105–29, here 121, following P.Oxy. XV 1782 (supported by the Apostolic Constitutions).

<sup>44</sup> Tuckett, "Synoptic Tradition" (n. 19), 223; Tuckett, "The Didache" (n. 36), 123, citing Willem C. van Unnik, "Die Motivierung der Feindesliebe in Lk 6.32–35," *NovT* 8 (1966): 284–300.

<sup>45</sup> On this, see John S. Kloppenborg, "James 1:2–15 and Hellenistic Psychagogy," *NovT* 52.1 (2010): 37–71, here 54–57. On James and urban language, Alicia J. Batten, "The Urbanization of Jesus Traditions in James," in *James, 1 & 2 Peter and the Early Jesus Tradition*, ed. Alicia J. Batten and John S. Kloppenborg, LNTS 478 (London and New York: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2014), 78–96.

<sup>46</sup> Restoration: Grenfell and Hunt. Dieter Lührmann, *Fragmente apokryph gewordener Evangelien in griechischer und lateinischer Sprache*, Marburger Theologische Studien 59 (Marburg: Elwert, 2000), 176–77 restores the last two lines as [οἱ ἀπέστησα]ν μακράν, αὔριον [ἡ ὥρα αὐτῶν γ]ενήσεται following Jer 2:5 and Jos 11:6.

van Unnik has shown,<sup>47</sup> engages Hellenistic reciprocity ethics and encourages well-doing (ἀγαθοποιεῖν) as a strategy for achieving divine approbation (1 Pet 2:12) and human recognition of superior moral achievement (1 Pet 2:12.20). In both the Q/Matthaeian and the Lukan forms of the argument it makes sense to pose the rhetorical question, “what credit/reward do you have if you do the ordinary?” (cf. 1 Pet 2:19, 20), since the point is to encourage behavior which is sharply dissimilar from ordinary behavior and which can be said to be congruous with the Divine. The Didache’s pragmatic argument, however, requires no such appeal, since the point of the admonitions to bless, pray, and fast is neither to achieve human or divine commendation nor to demonstrate superior “God-like” virtue, but to win over the enemy. The motive clause (ποία γὰρ χάρις ... ποιούσιν;) is thus otiose, which is probably why the initial admonition must be resumed with ὑμεῖς δὲ φιλεῖτε before stating the intended result, καὶ οὐχ ἔξετε ἐχθρόν. What this implies is that the Didache has taken over from its source the rhetorical question, ποία γὰρ χάρις ἐὰν φιλήτε τοὺς φιλοῦντας ὑμᾶς; but has not in fact been able to incorporate it effectively into its own rhetoric.<sup>48</sup> In spite of the unevenness in the flow of the Didache’s argument, however, it appears to begin with Luke’s editorial transformation of Q, which introduces the notion of reciprocity ethics, and adjusts the linguistic register of his source upwards.<sup>49</sup>

As Tuckett points out Did. 1.4a might betray Matthaeian redaction in its specification of the right cheek as the object of a strike, and the conclusion ἔση τέλος, which might reflect Matthew’s editing of Q 6:36. Yet he is cautious: since it is unclear whether the right cheek was Matthew’s addition to Q, and given the Didachist’s interest in perfection (6.2), the agreements between the Didache and Matthaeian redaction “should probably not be overestimated.”<sup>50</sup> Likewise, the

47 van Unnik, “Feindesliebe” (n. 44); id., “The Teaching of Good Works in I Peter,” *NTS* 1 (1954): 92–110.

48 Similarly, Tuckett, “Synoptic Tradition” (n. 19), 224: “the author of this section of the Didache seems to presuppose Luke’s version here in a way that goes beyond simply using the word χάρις; he takes over the Lukan rhetorical question, but fails to see its significance and hence betrays the secondary nature of his own text.”

49 Tuckett, “Synoptic Tradition” (n. 19), 224: “The fact remains that the author of this section of the Didache seems to presuppose Luke’s version here in a way that goes beyond simply using the word χάρις; he takes over the Lukan rhetorical question, but fails to see its significance and hence betrays the secondary nature of his own text.”

50 Tuckett, “Synoptic Tradition” (n. 19), 225–26. He is slightly stronger in Tuckett, “The Didache” (n. 36), 124: “the parallel here may be more significant as another pointer to the possibility that the Didache presupposes Matthew’s finished gospel.”



Didache's replication of Matt 5:41 in 1,4b would only be telling if it could be shown to be an instance of Matthaean redaction.<sup>51</sup>

The case for the knowledge of Did. 1.3b–2.1 of Luke comes down to the final two admonitions (1.4c–d), concerning robbery and free giving. The Didache's formulation agrees with Luke against Matthew in imagining the scene as a robbery where the ἱμάτιον is first stolen and then the χίτων is offered. Matthew, as is well known, treats the scene as a forensic one where Matthew presupposes the prohibition of Exod 22:25–26 concerning the seizing of a creditor's ἱμάτιον as a surety against a loan.<sup>52</sup> Matthew (and Q) counsel against insisting even on the protection afforded by the Torah. When a surety is demanded, even the ἱμάτιον can be given. The following sayings in Q and Matthew, Q/Matt 5:41 on corvée and Q 6:30 on lending without expectation of return, all concern the situation of Roman Palestine where draft animals could be requisitioned and where spirals of indebtedness led to seizure and expropriation of lands and possessions.<sup>53</sup>

That Luke had seen the reference to borrowing in Q 6:30 is indicated by the fact that he mentions lending in his summarizing statement in vv. 34–35 (καὶ δανίζετε μηδὲν ἀπελπίζοντες). Luke's reconceptualization of Q's (=Matthew's) scenario of the seizure of a surety as a robbery and his omission of the saying on corvée probably reflects Luke's somewhat more well-to-do audience, less troubled by the threats of debt, corvée and expropriation. Instead Luke nurtures an ethos of benefaction and almsgiving (12:33–34; contrast Q 12:33–34; Luke 14:7–14). The threat to such persons is not expropriation or corvée but robbery (Luke 12:33–34.39–40). But this leaves Luke with somewhat odd advice: While he transformed Q's saying on sureties into an admonition to acquiesce to robbery, he took over almost unchanged from Q the imperative to “give to

<sup>51</sup> The IQP constructed Q as [[ὅστις]] σε [[ῥαπίζει]] εἰς τὴν σιαγόνα, στρέψον [[αὐτῷ]] καὶ τὴν ἄλλην· καὶ [[τῷ θέλοντί σοι κριθῆναι καὶ]] τὸν χιτῶνά σου [[λαβεῖν, ἄφες αὐτῷ]] καὶ τὸ ἱμάτιον. <sup>[[Mt 5:41]]</sup> “καὶ ὅστις σε ἀγγαρεύσει μίλιον ἓν, ὕπαγε μετ’ αὐτοῦ δύο.” <sup>30</sup> τῷ αἰτοῦντί σε δός, καὶ [[ἀπὸ]] τ[οῦ] δανιζομένου· τὰ]] σ[ὶ] μὴ ἀπ[ο] αἰτεῖ]] (James M. Robinson, Paul Hoffmann, and John S. Kloppenborg, eds., *The Critical Edition of Q: A Synopsis, Including the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, Mark and Thomas, with English, German and French Translations of Q and Thomas*, Hermeneia Supplements [Leuven: Peeters; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2000], 60–64), implying that Matt 5:41 is not Matthaean redaction.

<sup>52</sup> See Edward Neufeld, “Self-Help in Ancient Hebrew Law,” *RIDA* 5 3e série (1958): 291–98.

<sup>53</sup> See Martin Goodman, “The First Jewish Revolt: Social Conflict and the Problem of Debt,” *JJS* 33 (1982): 417–27; John S. Kloppenborg, *Excavating Q: The History and Setting of the Sayings Gospel* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2000), 254–55; Seán Freyne, “The Geography, Politics, and Economics of Galilee and the Quest for the Historical Jesus,” in *Studying the Historical Jesus: Evaluations of the State of Current Research*, ed. Bruce Chilton and Craig A. Evans, NTTS 19 (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 75–121.



all who ask” adding, not to demand back from the one who takes your possessions. The context for Luke is still that of a robbery. Crucially, it is this notion that has been taken over by the Didache, which also imagines a robbery. The Didache’s use of *μὴ ἀπαίτει*, drawn from Luke 6:30, is otiose since presumably if one were in a position to take back from a robber, one would not have been robbed in the first place. Sensing this tension, the Didachist adds, rather lamely, the puzzling phrase *οὐδὲ γὰρ δύνασαι*, “for you are not able [to take it back].” The key point here is that the Didache’s rather odd formulation depends logically on Luke’s reformulation of Q.<sup>54</sup>

Likewise Did. 1.5a agrees with Luke 6:30 (*παντὶ τῷ αἰτοῦντί σε δίδου*) and like Luke omits Q’s reference to lending (even though Luke’s summary in 6:34–35 preserves the verb *δανείζω*, another “reminiscence” of Q<sup>55</sup>). The presence in Did. 1.3–5 of elements that likely derive from Luke’s reconceptualizing of Q suggests rather strongly that Did. 1.3–2.1 comes from a time when Luke was available.

It is worth noting that just as the interpolator of 1.3–5 cites what we identify as Jesus tradition, he attributed it to *ἡ διδαχή* and not to Jesus and framed each of the three sayings instrumentally. The injunction to bless and pray for one’s enemies (1.3bc) is directed toward the overcoming of enmity. The four injunctions against retaliation and recovery of stolen property and to comply with *corvée* and attempts at robbery are connected with a stoicizing notion of the suppression of *ἐπιθυμίας*, as if these injunctions concretize or illustrate strategies for overcoming anger and attachments. And the final saying is instrumentalized in a concrete test of the conditions under which the reception of gifts is legitimate. That is, these sayings not only reflect a higher lexical register than their counterparts in Q, but they have also been made part of a quasi-philosophical didache on the control of the self, the first set of injunctions directed at the group as a whole, and the second and third focused on an individual therapy of desire (contrast the dominant second person plural address of Q).

## 1.6 2 Clement

2 Clement offers an extraordinary instance of a synoptic-like saying being cited as γραφή: καὶ ἑτέρα δὲ γραφή λέγει ὅτι οὐκ ἤλθον καλέσαι δικαίους ἀλλὰ ἁμαρ-

<sup>54</sup> Thus Tuckett, “Synoptic Tradition” (n. 19), 230; “The Didache” (n. 36), 125; Kloppenborg, “The Synoptics or Q in Did. 1.3b-2.1” (n. 43), 126.

<sup>55</sup> Above, n. 51.

τωλούς (2.4) where what is cited is identical to Mark 2:17 and Matt 9:13. That the saying was widely known is indicated by the fact that it is attested earlier in Barn. 5.9, there framed not in the first person but in the third, but otherwise identical with Matt=Mark. Barnabas treated the saying as though it were securely known to originate with Jesus, since he adduces Jesus' choice of "sinners" as apostles as an example (ἵνα δείξη ὅτι) of Jesus' implementation of the saying. Justin also cites the saying, now in its Lukan form (with εἰς μετάνοιαν) in 1 Apol. 15.8, introduced with εἶπε δὲ οὕτως. Although some have argued that Clement is simply citing a common oral tradition,<sup>56</sup> Gregory and Tuckett are surely right to suppose that Clement's use of γραφή implies that he is relying on a written text, most probably Matthew.<sup>57</sup>

The survey of 2 Clement by Gregory and Tuckett identified a number of texts in which knowledge of Matthew is likely: 2 Clem. 3.2 which agrees with Matt 10:32 against Luke 12:8; 2 Clem. 6.2, agreeing more closely with Matt 16:26 and against Luke 9:25. But they have also identified at least six citations that either depend on Lukan elements, or which fuse Lukan and Matthaean elements.<sup>58</sup> For the purposes of this essay it is unnecessary to discuss each of them;<sup>59</sup> one example will suffice which is emblematic of the problems presented by 2 Clement. 2 Clem. 5.2–4 combines Matt 10:28 and Luke 12:4–5. Unlike the Synoptics and Q, 2 Clement has framed this saying as a dialogue between Peter and Jesus, initiated by Jesus' declaration, ἔσεσθε ὡς ἄρνια ἐν μέσῳ λύκων (5.2), which leans more strongly in the direction of Luke 10:3 (and away from Matt 10:16a = Q: ὡς

<sup>56</sup> Karl Paul Donfried, *The Setting of Second Clement in Early Christianity*, NovTSup 38 (Leiden: Brill, 1974), 59–60, adducing the fact that from a form-critical perspective, Mark 2:17b is a second answer to the challenge of Jesus eating with toll collectors and sinners.

<sup>57</sup> Andrew Gregory and Christopher M. Tuckett, "2 Clement and the Writings That Later Formed the New Testament," in *The Reception of the New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers*, ed. Andrew Gregory and Christopher M. Tuckett (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 251–92, here 255. Hagner, "Sayings of Jesus in the Apostolic Fathers and Justin Martyr" (n. 9), 244: "Here then, a Gospel, or some other written collection of the sayings of Jesus, is unequivocally put on a par with the OT scriptures and cited formally with the typical formula."

<sup>58</sup> Gregory and Tuckett, "2 Clement" (n. 57), 254–73.

<sup>59</sup> Gregory and Tuckett, "2 Clement" (n. 57), 256: 2 Clem. 2.7 || Luke 19:10 (the similarities are too general to be definitive); pp. 260–263: 2 Clem. 4.5 || Matt 7:23; Luke 13:27 (closer to Luke and to Matthew, apart from the final ὀνομία, which agrees with Matthew but also the D text of Luke); pp. 263–266: 2 Clem. 5.2–4, a combination of Matt 10:16, 28 Luke 10:3; 12:4–5; pp. 266–267: 2 Clem. 6.1 || Luke 16:13, and reflecting Luke's οἰκέτης against Matt 6:24; pp. 268–270: 2 Clem. 8.5 || Luke 10:10–12; pp. 270–271: 2 Clem. 9.11, combining elements of Matt 12:50 and Luke 8:21 but also Gos. Eb. 5 (= Epiphanius, Pan. 30.14.5); pp. 271–273: 2 Clem. 13.4 || Luke 6:27, 32, reflecting Luke's χάρις rather than Matthew's μισθός.

πρόβατα).<sup>60</sup> Jesus' response to Peter's question (5.3) appears to be an abridgment of the Synoptic saying, but agrees with Matthew in contrasting those who can kill but "are not able" (μηδὲν ὑμῖν δυναμένους ποιεῖν, cf. Matt 10:28: τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν μὴ δυναμένων ἀποκτείνει), but with Luke in τὸν μετὰ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν ὑμᾶς ἔχοντα ἐξουσίαν ... τοῦ βαλεῖν εἰς γέενναν (cf. Luke 12:5: μετὰ τὸ ἀποκτείνειν ἔχοντα ἐξουσίαν ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς γέενναν). On the assumption that their common source, Q, read καὶ μὴ φοβεῖσθε ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποκτε[[ν]]όντων τὸ σῶμα, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν μὴ δυναμένων ἀποκτείνει· φοβεῖσθε δὲ .. τὸν δυνάμενον καὶ ψυχὴν καὶ σῶμα ἀπολῆσαι ἐν τῇ γέεννῃ, 2 Clement betrays redactional elements of Luke, in particular Luke's avoidance of the notion that the body *and* soul can be destroyed in Gehenna.

The issue of dependence on Luke is complicated by a very similar dialogue appearing in the fragmentary P.Oxy. LX 4009, which unfortunately breaks off before the full citation of Jesus' response can be given, but which in addition to the sheep and wolves saying seems to have included a parallel to Matt 10:16b: [γίνου δὲ ἀκέ]ραιος ὡς αἱ [πε]||ριστεραὶ κ|αὶ φρόνιμ[ος] | [ὡς οἱ ὄφεις,] ἔσεσθε ὡς | [ἀρ- νίας ἀνὰ μέ]σον λύκων (heavily restored from 2 Clement).<sup>61</sup>

Whether 2 Clement is directly dependent on the Synoptics or on a post-synoptic pastiche, Gregory and Tuckett seem justified in their view that ultimately the text of Matthew and Luke stand behind this saying.<sup>62</sup>

The point of this survey of the Apostolic Fathers is to observe that there is indeed little or no reason to suppose knowledge of Luke by Barnabas, Ignatius, 1 Clement, Polycarp, and the main body of the Didache, all putatively from the early part of the second century C.E., and, perhaps even more surprisingly, Her- mas from about the middle of the second century. The first indications that Luke had arrived on the scene come from the *sectio evangelica* of the Didache and 2 Clement, both usually dated to the middle of the second century or perhaps a bit later. This may be an indication of the relatively late date of the composition of Luke, or the relatively late date of its dissemination. For my purposes, howev-

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<sup>60</sup> Robinson, Hoffmann, and Kloppenborg, *CEQ* (n. 51), 162.

<sup>61</sup> Lührmann, *Fragmente apokryph gewordener Evangelien* (n. 46), 79. Whether P.Oxy. LX 4009 is a fragment of the Gospel of Peter has been both affirmed and disputed: See Paul Foster, "Are There any Early Fragments of the So-Called Gospel of Peter?" *NTS* 52.1 (2006): 1–28, Lührmann's reply ("Kann es wirklich keine frühe Handschrift des Petrus-evangeliums geben? Corrigenda zu einem Aufsatz von Paul Foster," *NovT* 48.4 [2006]: 379–83) and Foster's rejoinder ("The Disputed Early Fragments of the So-Called Gospel of Peter – Once Again," *NovT* 49 [2007]: 402–6). For the purposes of this essay it is unnecessary to decide whether P.Oxy. LX 4009 is from the Gospel of Peter or not, since there is little reason to suppose that 2 Clement is dependent on the Gospel of Peter, or vice versa.

<sup>62</sup> Gregory and Tuckett, "2 Clement" (n. 57), 266.

er, it means that we might expect conflated citations only about the middle of the second century. The expedient that is sometimes mooted to account for conflated citations – that the apparently conflated citations of Did. 1.3–2.1, the Gospel of the Ebionites, 2 Clement, and Justin might derive from earlier harmonies – should perhaps be treated with some caution, since this not only pushes back the problem of conflated citations to an unknown text that lies beyond examination, but also has the potential to push such texts back into a time when Luke may well not have been available at all.

## 2 Citation Techniques

A second puzzle – or perhaps we might say anomaly – has to do with citation techniques, both the citations of the Jewish Bible and other sources of authority, and those related to the Jesus tradition.

The Didache does not offer much leverage on this problem since it is unlikely that the compiler of Did. 1.3–2.1 was responsible for the rest of the Didache and so one cannot assume that citation methods in Did. 1.3–2.1 and the rest of the Didache would or should be comparable. 2 Clement, however, offers more points of comparison between the way the Jesus tradition is cited and the quotation of other authorities.

For the most part 2 Clement cites the Jewish Bible without change, or by only altering small details in the number or person of the verb, or adding a single word.<sup>63</sup> There are only two examples of more paraphrastic techniques. 2 Clem. 6.8 abridges Ezek 14:14, 18, 20 and inverts the order of the names of David and Job (an inversion that is attested also by Origen and Chrysostom<sup>64</sup>), reduces to υἱοὶ ἢ θυγατέρες to τὰ τέκνα αὐτῶν and adds ἐν τῇ αἰχμαλωσίᾳ, supplied from the broader context of Ezekiel. The citation of the Jewish Bible that departs most from any other known text is 2 Clem. 14.1 ἐγενήθη ὁ οἶκός μου σπήλαιον ληστῶν, paraphrasing Jer 7:11, but in a way that does not conform to any other known citation Jeremiah (e.g., Matt 21:13; Mark 11:17; Luke 19:46).

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<sup>63</sup> 2 Clem. 2.1 = Isa 54:1; 2 Clem. 3.5 = Isa 29:13 correcting the LXX's τιμῶσιν to τιμᾶ to agree with the subject, ὁ λαὸς οὗτος; 2 Clem. 7.6 = Isa 66:24; 2 Clem. 13.2 = Isa 5:5 with the addition of πᾶσιν; 2 Clem. 14.2 = Gen 1:26 slightly abridged; 2 Clem. 15.3 = Isa 58:9 ἐρεῖ changed to ἐρῶ; 2 Clem. 17.4 = Isa 66:18; 2 Clem. 17.5 = Isa 66:24. In 2 Clem. 17.4 Isa 66:18, πάντα τὰ ἔθνη καὶ γλώσσας is cited with the addition of φυλάς, probably taken from Dan 3:2 (πάντα τὰ ἔθνη καὶ φυλάς καὶ γλώσσας).

<sup>64</sup> The inversion of Job and Daniel is also attested in Origen, *Selecta in Ezechielem* (PG 13.808) and frequently in Chrysostom's citations of Ezek 14:14.

As is well known, 2 Clement cites a number of authorities that are otherwise unknown from the LXX. But since these texts also appear as citations in later authors for whom we have no reason to suspect dependence on 2 Clement, we can conclude that Clement's technique is relatively conservative. For example at 13.2, having just cited Isa 52:5, Clement then quotes a second text, introduced with καὶ πάλιν and hence presumably from a version of Isaiah, οὐαὶ δι' ὃν βλασφημεῖται τὸ ὄνομά μου. This does not occur in the LXX but is cited as a scripture (τὸ γεγραμμένον) by Ephrem of Syria.<sup>65</sup> And at 11.2 2 Clement cites an apocryphon, probably from the lost Eldad and Modad, as a προφητικὸς λόγος which 1 Clement knows as ἡ γραφή (1 Clem. 23.3–4).<sup>66</sup> 2 Clement appears to abridge the body of the citation only slightly, offering οἱ διστάζοντες τῇ καρδίᾳ for 1 Clement's οἱ διστάζοντες τῇ ψυχῇ, and adding a final phrase not in 1 Clement, but otherwise he agrees with 1 Clement in a string of thirty-six words.

2 Clement's practice in relation to the Jewish Bible and other texts then stands in rather sharp contrast to his citation of the Jesus tradition, at least if we suppose that he is directly citing and conflating the Synoptic gospels in written form. In instances such as 2 Clem. 5.2–4 and 2 Clem. 9.11 his citation not only paraphrases the Synoptics, but conflates elements from Matthew and Luke within the same saying such that 2 Clement agrees alternately with Matthew, then Luke, and the following table illustrates.<sup>67</sup>

Matt 10:28	Luke 12:4–5	2 Clem. 5.4	1 Apol. 19.7
καὶ	λέγω δὲ ὑμῖν τοῖς		
μὴ φοβεῖσθε	φίλοις μου,	ὑμεῖς	μὴ φοβεῖσθε
ἀπὸ τῶν	μὴ φοβηθῆτε	τοὺς	τοὺς
ἀποκτενόντων	ἀπὸ τῶν	ἀποκτενόντας	ἀναιροῦντας
τὸ σῶμα,	ἀποκτείνοντων τὸ	ὑμᾶς	ὑμᾶς
τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν μὴ	σῶμα καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα	καὶ μηδὲν ὑμῖν	καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα μὴ
δυναμένων	μὴ ἐχόντων	δυναμένους	δυναμένους τι
ἀποκτείνει·	περισσότερόν τι	ποιεῖν	ποιῆσαι,
	ποιῆσαι.	ἀλλὰ	εἶπε,
φοβεῖσθε δὲ μᾶλλον	ὑποδείξω δὲ ὑμῖν τίνα	φοβεῖσθε	φοβήθητε δὲ
	φοβηθῆτε· φοβήθητε	τὸν μετὰ	τὸν μετὰ
τὸν	τὸν μετὰ τὸ	τὸ ἀποθανεῖν ὑμᾶς	τὸ ἀποθανεῖν
δυναμένον	ἀποκτείνει	ἐχοντα ἐξουσίαν	δυναμένον
	ἐχοντα ἐξουσίαν		

65 Ephrem Syrus, *Interrogationes ac responsiones* (K.G. Phrantzoles, *Ὁσίου Ἐφραίμ τοῦ Σύρου ἔργα*, vol. 6, [Thessalonica: To Perivoli tis Panagias, 1995], 218–242), 219.12: καὶ λοιπὸν πληροῦται ἐν ἡμῖν τὸ γεγραμμένον· οὐαὶ δι' οὓς βλασφημεῖται τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν.

66 See Dale C. Allison, "Eldad and Modad," *JSP* 21.2 (2011): 99–131.

67 Above, n. 59.

καὶ ψυχὴν καὶ σῶμα		ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος	καὶ ψυχὴν καὶ σῶμα
ἀπολέσαι	ἐμβαλεῖν	τοῦ βαλεῖν	
ἐν γεέννῃ	εἰς τὴν γέενναν.	εἰς γέενναν πυρὸς	εἰς γέενναν ἐμβαλεῖν.
	ναὶ λέγω ὑμῖν, τοῦτον		
	φοβήθητε.		

Q 12:4–5: καὶ μὴ φοβεῖσθε ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποκτε[[ν]]όντων τὸ σῶμα, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν μὴ δυνάμενων ἀποκτεῖναι· φοβεῖσθε δὲ [...] τὸν δυνάμενον καὶ ψυχὴν καὶ σῶμα ἀπολέσαι ἐν τῇ γεέννῃ.

Ps-Clem. Hom. 17.5.2 μὴ φοβηθῆτε ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀποκτείνοντος τὸ σῶμα, τῇ δὲ ψυχῇ μὴ δυναμένου τι ποιῆσαι· φοβηθῆτε δὲ τὸν δυνάμενον καὶ σῶμα καὶ ψυχὴν εἰς τὴν γεενναν τοῦ πυρὸς βάλειν. ναὶ λέγω ὑμῖν, τοῦτον φοβήθητε.

P.Oxy. 4009: δι[ὸ ἐγὼ λέγω ὑμῖν [μὴ] φο[βεῖσθε ἀπὸ τῶν ἀπ[οκτε(ν)]όντων ὑμᾶς] καὶ [μετὰ τὸ] [ἀποκτεῖναι] μηκέ[τι ποι]ῆσαι δυνάμε[νων [μηδέ(ν)] [ ] ἔχων [ ] μει[

As argued above, if the reconstruction of Q is correct, then 2 Clement is at least post-Lukan, since it reflects Lukan alterations of Q. As Q has been reconstructed, it agrees essentially with Matthew, and hence it is technically impossible to say whether 2 Clement is post-Matthaeian, or simply post-Q. Nevertheless, it is obvious that the agreements of 2 Clement with Q/Matthew and Luke are complex indeed, and the presence of 1 Apol. 19 and Ps-Clem. Hom. 17, which likewise display complex relationships with the Synoptics do not assist much in sorting out the relation of 2 Clement to the other texts.<sup>68</sup>

Justin Martyr offers a profile similar to 2 Clement in the citation of classical sources, the Jewish Bible, and Synoptic-like traditions. At Dial. 1.3, his first encounter with Trypho, Justin's greeting, τίς δὲ σύ ἐσσι, φέριστε βροτῶν; "who are you, best of men?" is a pun on Il. 15.247: τίς δὲ σύ ἐσσι φέριστε θεῶν ὅς μ' εἴρεια ἄντην; "who are you, best of the gods, who questions me face to face?" where Hector responds to Apollo's question why Hector was sitting despondent after his encounter with Aias.<sup>69</sup> But here it is not so much a quotation as an (ironic) emulation of a Homeric greeting.

Elsewhere Justin's citations of Homer show some freedom to adapt in very small ways, substituting substantives for verbs, or varying word order. For example, at Dial. 3.1,

<sup>68</sup> Leslie Lee Kline, "Harmonized Sayings of Jesus in the Pseudo-Clementine Homilies and Justin Martyr," *ZNW* 66.3–4 (1975): 223–41, here 233 reconstructs a hypothetical Ausgangstext that might account for the versions of Justin and Ps-Clem Hom.: μὴ φοβεῖσθε ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀποκτείνοντος ὑμᾶς, καὶ μὴ δυνάμενος τι ποιῆσαι· φοβηθῆτε δὲ τὸν μετὰ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν δυνάμενον καὶ ψυχὴν καὶ σῶμα εἰς (τὴν) γεενναν (τοῦ) πυρὸς (ἐμ)βάλειν.

<sup>69</sup> See also Il. 6.123: τίς δὲ σύ ἐσσι φέριστε καταθνητῶν ἀνθρώπων; "Who are you, best of mortal men?" and Il. 24.387: τίς δὲ σύ ἐσσι φέριστε τέων δ' ἔξεσι τοκίμων. "who are you, best of youth and from what parents do you spring?"

καὶ μου οὕτως διακειμένου ἐπεὶ ἔδοξέ ποτε πολλῆς ἡρεμίας ἐμφορηθῆναι καὶ τὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀλεεῖναι πάτον, and while I was thus disposed, when at one time I wanted to be filled with great quietness, and the “shunning of the paths of men”

the final phrase is from Il. 6.202 (πάτον ἀνθρώπων ἀλεεῖνων) but Justin inverts the word order. The use of the definite article τόν makes clear that he is citing Homer.

Justin also cites Euripides’ Hippolytus 612 verbatim at 1 Apol. 39.4 and Plato, Resp. 10.617E at 1 Apol. 44.7. The source of several citations cannot be identified: at 1 Apol. 3.3 he attributes a saying to τις τῶν παλαιῶν, but no such text can be found even if there are some vague similarities to Plato, Resp. 5.473CD. At 1 Apol. 60.1 he claims ἐχίασεν αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ παντί for the Timaeus, perhaps, Tim. 36BC, but what he cites does not conform to the wording of the Timaeus. More interestingly, 1 Apol. 8.4 attributes to Plato Ῥαδάμανθυν καὶ Μίνω κολάσειν τοὺς ἀδίκους παρ’ αὐτοὺς ἐλθόντας, “Rhadamanthus and Minos would punish the wicked who came before them.” This form of the saying does not appear in the Gorgias (523 A), although Rhadamanthus and Minos (named in inverted order) are mentioned there. But Athenagoras cites the same saying as Justin, also attributing it to Plato, substituting only τοὺς πονηροὺς for Justin’s τοὺς ἀδίκους.<sup>70</sup> This suggests that both Justin and Athenagoras are not dependent upon the Gorgias directly, but upon a collection of Platonic commentaries that have already condensed various sayings (see below). The same may be the case with what is attributed to the Timaeus in 1 Apol. 60.1.

Justin’s citations of the Jewish Bible display two main patterns. On the one hand, like his citations of classical sources, many of them are generally faithful, simply abridging the LXX or introducing minor modifications in verb number or slightly rearranging the constituent phrases.<sup>71</sup> The other pattern is what I will

**70** Athenagoras, Legatio sive Supplicatio pro Christianis 12.2: Πλάτων μὲν οὖν Μίνω καὶ Ῥαδάμανθυν δικάσειν καὶ κολάσειν τοὺς πονηροὺς ἔφη, “Plato indeed has said that Minos and Rhadamanthus will judge and punish the wicked.”

**71** To take only the citations in 1 Apol.: 1 Apol. 32.1 = Gen 49:10–11 abridged and modified slightly; 1 Apol. 35.1 = Isa 9:5 some abbreviation, substitution of νεανίσκος for υἱός; 1 Apol. 35.5 = Ps 21:17–18 some elements rearranged; 1 Apol. 35.11 = Zech 9:9 with some omissions; 1 Apol. 37.1–2 = Isa 1:3–4; 1 Apol. 37.3 = Isa 66:1 clauses reversed; 1 Apol. 37.5 = Isa 1:14.13.12.15 rearranged; 1 Apol. 38.2 = Isa 50:6–8; 1 Apol. 39.1 = Isa 2:3–4 slight alterations; 1 Apol. 40.1–4 = Ps 18:3–6; 1 Apol. 40.8–10 = Psalm 1; 1 Apol. 40.11–19 = Psalm 2; 1 Apol. 41.1–3 = 1 Chron 16:23.25–31; 1 Apol. 44.1 = Deut 30:15 + the verb from 30:19; 1 Apol. 45.1 = Ps 109:1–3 minor changes; 1 Apol. 47.2 = Isa 64:10–12; 1 Apol. 48.5 = Isa 57:1–2; 1 Apol. 49.2–4 = Isa 65:1–3 minor modifications; 1 Apol. 50.2–11 = Isa 52:12–53:8 minor omissions; 1 Apol. 63.16 = Exod 3:14 + 15 abridged; 1 Apol. 64.2–3 = Gen 1:1–2 abridged. See Philippe Bobichon, “Composite Features and Citations in Justin Martyr’s Textual Composition,” in *Composite Citations in Antiq-*



call composite citations or compounds, where two biblical texts are joined (but not conflated), such that portions of one text are followed by another. For example, at 1 Apol. 32.12 Justin cites as Isaiah, ἀνατελεῖ ἄστρον ἐξ Ἰακώβ, καὶ ἄνθος ἀναβήσεται ἀπὸ τῆς ρίζης Ἰεσσαί· καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν βραχίονα αὐτοῦ ἔθνη ἐλπιούσιν. The first four words are taken from Num 24:17; the next phrase, including the verb ἀναβήσεται comes from Isa 11:1, substituting only ἀπὸ for Isaiah's ἐκ; and the final phrase combines Isa 11:10 and Isa 51:1. A similar combination of Numbers and Isaiah is attested in Irenaeus' *Demonstratio*.<sup>72</sup> The technique of compilation – stringing together citations – is seen at several other points in the *Apology* and *Dialogue*.<sup>73</sup> At 1 Apol. 44.1–4, Justin first cites “the prophetic spirit” as saying, ἰδοὺ πρὸ προσώπου σου τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ τὸ κακόν, ἐκλεξαι τὸ ἀγαθόν, which combines Deut 30:15 with 30:19 (changing τὴν ζωὴν to τὸ ἀγαθόν) but then adds another saying “through Isaiah, another prophet” and there cites Isa 1:19–20.<sup>74</sup> What is noteworthy is that the very same combination is attested in Clement of Alexandria, *Protr.* 10.95.2 as a single citation.<sup>75</sup> Finally *Dial.* 20.1 attributes to Moses a much-transformed version of Exod 32:6, but one that is also cited in Latin by Tertullian, suggesting again that Justin and Tertullian are not citing Exodus directly, but an abridgment of the Exodus text that circulates independently of the LXX.<sup>76</sup> The agreements between Justin on the one hand, and Clement and

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uity, ed. Sean A. Adams and Seth M. Ehorn, *Library of New Testament Studies* 525 (London and New York: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2016), 158–81, esp. 165, who lists seven instances of citations of long texts from the LXX where Justin either quotes the text continuously, or breaks up long quotations by interspersing “and after a little interval,” or “and what follows until [...]” (*Dial.* 56.17,19).

<sup>72</sup> Irenaeus, *Demonstration* 58–59: “And again Moses says: A star shall rise out of Jacob [...] Then again, the Isaiah also says: And there shall come forth a rod from the roots of Jesse, and a flower shall go forth from the root.”

<sup>73</sup> 1 Apol. 33.1 = Isa 7:14 + Matt 1:23; 1 Apol. 35.3: Isa 65:2 (abridged) + Isa 58:2; 1 Apol. 37.8: Isa 1:12 + 58:6–7 with significant rearrangements; 1 Apol. 47.5: Isa 1:7 + Jer 27:3 with many changes; 1 Apol. 48.2: Isa 35:6,5 + Matt 11:5; *Dial.* 21.2–4: Ezek 20:17 + 7:20–26. See Bobichon, “Composite Features” (n. 71), 166–69, citing 1 Apol. 32.12; *Dial.* 27.3; 43.5–6 (Isa 7:10–16a + 8:4 + 7:16b–17); 45.4 (Ps 109:3 + 71:5); and 122.1 (Isa 42:16 + 43:10).

<sup>74</sup> See Bobichon, “Composite Features” (n. 71), 170–71, citing *Dial.* 11.1; 24.1; 62.4; and 94.1.

<sup>75</sup> Clement of Alexandria, *Protr.* 10.95.2 (2) “Ἰδοὺ τέθεικα πρὸ προσώπου ὑμῶν”, φησί, “τὸν θάνατον καὶ τὴν ζωὴν” [Deut 30:15]. Πειράζει σε ὁ κύριος ἐκλέξασθαι τὴν ζωὴν [Deut 30:19, adapted], συμβουλεύει σοι ὡς πατὴρ πείθεσθαι τῷ θεῷ. “Ἐὰν γὰρ ἀκούσητέ μου”, φησί, “καὶ θελήσητε, τὰ ἀγαθὰ τῆς γῆς φάγεσθε,” ὑπακοῆς ἢ χάρις. “Ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ὑπακούσητέ μου μηδὲ θελήσητε, μάχαιρα ὑμᾶς καὶ πῦρ κατέδεταί,” παρακοῆς ἢ κρίσις.

<sup>76</sup> *Dial.* 20.1: ἔφαγε καὶ ἔπιεν ὁ λαὸς καὶ ἀνέστη τοῦ παίξιν. Contrast Exod 32:6: καὶ ὀρθρίσας τῇ ἐπαύριον ἀνεβίβασεν ὀλοκαυτώματα καὶ προσήνεγκεν θυσίαν σωτηρίου καὶ ἐκάθισεν ὁ λαὸς φαγεῖν καὶ πιεῖν καὶ ἀνέστησαν παίξιν, and compare Tertullian, *De ieiunio* 6.2 *manducavit pop-*



Tertullian on the other, suggest that a common didactic or commentary tradition is being followed.

An examination of Justin's techniques for citing classical sources and the Jewish Bible underscore the highly unusual way in which then he reproduces the Jesus tradition. While on occasion he can cite it in a form that closely approximates that found in the Matthew or Luke,<sup>77</sup> at other points one finds neither a simple citation (even with minor adaptations) nor a compilation, but instead a full conflation where elements that we identify as deriving from Matthew, then Luke, are woven together in a complex manner. Two examples will illustrate this. First, 1 Apol. 16.9–13 is presented as a single saying of Jesus, introduced by εἶπε γὰρ οὕτως, while Dial. 76.5 and Dial. 35.3a offer partial parallels to the Apology. The relation of Justin to the Synoptics is very complex:

1 Apol. 16.9–13  
οὐχὶ πᾶς ὁ λέγων μοι  
κύριε κύριε εἰς-  
ελεύσεται εἰς τὴν  
βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρα-  
νῶν, ἀλλ' ὁ ποιῶν τὸ  
θέλημα τοῦ πατρὸς  
μου τοῦ ἐν τοῖς  
οὐρανοῖς.

<sup>10</sup> ὃς γὰρ ἀκούει μου  
—  
καὶ ποιεῖ ἅ λέγω  
ἀκούει τοῦ  
ἀποστείλαντός με.

Matt 7:21  
οὐ πᾶς ὁ λέγων μοι·  
κύριε κύριε εἰς-  
ελεύσεται εἰς τὴν  
βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρα-  
νῶν, ἀλλ' ὁ ποιῶν τὸ  
θέλημα τοῦ πατρὸς  
μου τοῦ ἐν τοῖς  
οὐρανοῖς ...

<sup>24</sup> πᾶς οὖν ὅστις  
ἀκούει μου τοὺς  
λόγους τούτους  
καὶ ποιεῖ αὐτούς,  
ὁμοιωθήσεται....

Luke 6:46  
τί δέ με καλεῖτε·  
κύριε κύριε,  
—  
—  
καὶ οὐ ποιεῖτε ἃ λέγω;  
—  
—  
—  
—  
<sup>47</sup> πᾶς ὁ ἐρχόμενος  
πρὸς με καὶ ἀκούων  
μου τῶν λόγων  
καὶ ποιῶν αὐτούς,  
ὑποδείξω ὑμῖν τίνι  
ἐστὶν ὅμοιος...  
10:16

ulus et bibit et surrexerunt ludere and Adv. Marcionem 2.18: manducaverat enim populus et bibererat et surrexerant ludere.

<sup>77</sup> See Joseph Verheyden, "Justin's Text of the Gospels: Another Look at the Citations in 1Apol. 15. 1–8," in *The Early Text of the New Testament*, ed. Charles E. Hill and Michael J. Kruger (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 313–35 for a convincing analysis of the citations in 1 Apol. 15.1–8, where Verheyden argues that one can understand this section by assuming that Justin is using Matthew and modifying his source to fit the overall argument on Christian chastity. It should be noted, however, that in 1 Apol. 15.1–8 the potential source texts come only from Matthew, with the exception of 1 Apol. 15.8, οὐκ ἦλθον καλέσαι δικαίους, ἀλλὰ ἁμαρτωλοὺς εἰς μετάνοιαν, where Verheyden points out the textual history of Matt 9:13 shows a harmonization with Luke 5:32 (sy<sup>p,h</sup> sa mae etc.) and thus one does not have to have recourse to Justin harmonizing Matthew with Luke.

			ὁ ἀκούων ὑμῶν ἐμοῦ ἀκούει, καὶ ὁ ἀθετῶν ὑμᾶς ἐμὲ ἀθετεῖ· ὁ δὲ ἐμὲ ἀθετῶν ἀθετεῖ <u>τὸν</u> <u>ἀποστείλαντά με</u> .
<sup>11</sup> πολλοὶ δὲ ἐροῦσί μοι·	Dial. 76.5 πολλοὶ ἐροῦσί μοι	Matt 7:22 <sup>22</sup> πολλοὶ ἐροῦσίν μοι	Luke 13:26 τότε ἄρξεσθε λέγειν·
κύριε κύριε, οὐ τῷ σῷ ὀνόματι <u>ἐφάγομεν</u> <u>καὶ ἐπίομεν</u> — καὶ	τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ· κύριε, κύριε, οὐ τῷ σῷ ὀνόματι <u>ἐφάγομεν</u> <u>καὶ ἐπίομεν</u> καὶ προεφητεύσαμεν καὶ	ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ· κύριε κύριε, οὐ τῷ σῷ ὀνόματι  ἐπροφητεύσαμεν, καὶ τῷ σῷ ὀνόματι δαιμόνια ἐξεβάλομεν, καὶ τῷ σῷ ὀνόματι δυνάμεις πολλὰς ἐποιήσαμεν; <sup>23</sup> καὶ τότε	<u>ἐφάγομεν</u> ἐνώπιόν σου <u>καὶ ἐπίομεν</u> καὶ ἐν ταῖς πλατείαις ἡμῶν ἐδίδασας·
δυνάμεις ἐποιήσαμεν;	δαιμόνια ἐξεβάλομεν;	δαιμόνια ἐξεβάλομεν, καὶ τῷ σῷ ὀνόματι δυνάμεις πολλὰς ἐποιήσαμεν; <sup>23</sup> καὶ τότε	<sup>27</sup> καὶ ἐρεῖ λέγων ὑμῖν·
<u>καὶ τότε</u> <u>ἐρῶ</u> αὐτοῖς·	<u>καὶ</u> <u>ἐρῶ</u> αὐτοῖς·	ὁμολογήσω αὐτοῖς ὅτι οὐδέποτε ἔγνων ὑμᾶς·	οὐκ οἶδα [ὑμᾶς] πόθεν ἐστέ·
—	—	—	ἀπόστητε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ πάντες <u>ἐργάται</u> ἀδικίας.
ἀποχωρεῖτε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, <u>ἐργάται</u> τῆς ἀνομίας.	ἀναχωρεῖτε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ. καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις λόγοις,	ἀποχωρεῖτε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ οἱ ἐργαζόμενοι τὴν ἀνομίαν. → 8:12b Matt 13:43	<sup>28</sup> ἐκεῖ ἔσται ὁ <u>κλαυθμὸς καὶ ὁ</u> <u>βρυγμὸς τῶν</u> <u>ὀδόντων,</u> <u>ὅταν</u> οἱ μὲν δίκαιοι
—	—	—	—
<sup>12</sup> τότε <u>κλαυθμὸς</u> <u>ἔσται καὶ βρυγμὸς</u> <u>τῶν ὀδόντων,</u> <u>ὅταν</u> οἱ μὲν δίκαιοι	—	—	—
—	—	—	—
λάμψουσιν ὡς ὁ ἥλιος,	—	ἐκλάμψουσιν ὡς ὁ ἥλιος ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ	βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ, ὑμᾶς δὲ ἐκβαλλο- μένους ἔξω.
—	—	—	—
—	—	τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῶν.	—
οἱ δὲ ἄδικοι πέμπωνται εἰς τὸ αἰώνιον πῦρ.	—	—	—



ἐμοῦ ἀκούει [...], δὲ ἐμὲ ἀθετῶν ἀθετεῖ τὸν ἀποστείλαντά με). However, the Justin or the compiler of this conflation rejected the negative parts of Luke's formulation (with ἀθετεῖ) and instead took over only ἀκούει τοῦ ἀποστείλαντός με (Matt 10:40 of course uses δέχομαι rather than ἀκούω). At this point, both the Apology and the Dialogue (76.5) returned to Matt 7:22 but incorporated Luke's ἐφάγομεν καὶ ἐπίομεν, with the Dialogue also taking over Matthew's reference to prophecy and exorcism. The future ἐρῶ reflects Luke's ἐρεῖ rather than Matthew's ὁμολογήσω. 1 Apol. 8.12a seems to reflect knowledge of the fact that the saying about the gnashing of teeth follows Luke 13:27 (but not Matt 7:23),<sup>78</sup> but the compiler of the Apology shifts again to Matt 13:43.

The last part of the saying in the Dialogue exhibits another kind of conflation – conflation of two different Matthaean texts, Matt 25:30 and 25:41. That this is not necessarily an innovation of the editor of 2 Clement is suggested by the partial parallel in Ps.-Clem. Hom. 19.2.5.<sup>79</sup>

While the parallel with Dial. 76 stops here, 1 Apol. 16.13 and Dial. 35.3 finish with a rewritten and abridged version of Matt 7:15–19. The fact that 1 Apol. 16.15 and Dial. 35.3a give almost the same version of the final warning (πολλοὶ γὰρ [...] ἐπιγνώσεσθε...) and agree more closely with each other than with Matt 7:15 suggests perhaps that Justin is making use of a collection of sayings of Jesus rather than reading Matthew directly.<sup>80</sup>

The second example is somewhat simpler. Dial. 17.4 cites two woes (but presented as a single saying), both ultimately taken from Matthew 23 and Luke 11. The first, οὐαὶ ὑμῖν, γραμματεῖς καὶ Φαρισαῖοι, ὑποκριταί, ὅτι ἀποδεκατοῦτε τὸ ἡδύοσμον καὶ τὸ πῆγανον, τὴν δὲ ἀγάπην τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν κρίσιν οὐ κατανοεῖτε, at first seems to be following Matt 23:23 up to ἡδύοσμον (mint) but then turns to Luke's generalizing πῆγανον instead of Matthew's τὸ ἄνηθον καὶ τὸ κύμινον ("rue and cumin"), and concludes with κρίσις from Matthew and ἀγάπη τοῦ θεοῦ from Luke. But then what follows, as if it simply is part of the same woe, is an abridgment of Matt 23:27 (on whitewashed tombs) with no effort to include elements of Luke 11:44. With the benefit of a critical synopsis, we would see immediately that Matt 23:27 and Luke 11:44 are transformations of the same Q woe.

<sup>78</sup> Dial. 76.4 ἤξουσιν ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν καὶ δυσμῶν, καὶ ἀνακλιθήσονται μετὰ Ἀβραάμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῶν οὐρανῶν· οἱ δὲ υἱοὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἐκβληθήσονται εἰς τὸ σκότος τὸ ἐξώτερον, which immediately precedes the Matthew-leaning Dial. 76.5a is almost identical to Matt 8:11.

<sup>79</sup> Thus Kline, "Harmonized Sayings" (n. 68), 226.

<sup>80</sup> Similarly, Arthur J. Bellinzoni, *The Sayings of Jesus in the Writings of Justin Martyr*, NovTSup 17 (Leiden: Brill, 1967), 47, who suggests that this source also combined Matt 24:5 with Matt 7:15, 16.

But it would appear that the compiler saw Luke's woe (on unseen tombs) as a different woe from Matthew and hence made no effort to conflate the two. In the case of the woe on tithing, he presumably saw them as the same woe, and hence combined elements of each.<sup>81</sup>

The intricacy of the compiler's manipulation of source texts is of a much higher order than Justin's techniques when he cites classical texts – either verbatim copying or simple adaptation – or texts from the Jewish Bible – verbatim copying, simple paraphrase, or the sequential compilation or compounding of two (or more) texts. In citing the Jewish Bible, Justin sometimes gives a longer version of the citation in the *Apology* and cuts it short in the *Dialogue* (or vice versa), depending on his argumentative purposes. In most cases, his composite citations are simply sequential compounds of predecessor texts. This makes stand out the consistency with which Justin not only compounds, but conflates Matthew with Luke.

### 3 Conflation

This leads me to the third puzzle. Some commentators have taken note of the difficulty posed by conflation on the order that is seen in the *Didache* (or 2 Clement and Justin). Audet contends “il est impossible d’imaginer comment [the author of 1.3–2.1] aurait pu travailler sur *Mt.* et *Lk.* pour arriver à son texte.”<sup>82</sup> Although Audet does not unpack his comment, he presumably wonders how the *Didachist* could have moved back and forth from Matthew to Luke to Matthew so effortlessly to achieve the *mélange* that appears in *Did.* 1.3–2.1. Rordorf, commenting on Tuckett's thesis that this section of the *Didache* draws on the final texts of Matthew and Luke, argues similarly: “with a canonical text [such as Matthew and Luke] it is impossible to chop and change [it] as the *Didache* does.”<sup>83</sup>

The assertion of the impossibility of the *Didachist* (or 2 Clement or Justin) conflating written texts is normally connected with an argument that the seemingly conflated texts in fact reflect an earlier version of the Synoptic tradition in which elements that now appear in Matthew and Luke had not yet been parsed into those gospels, and thus the *Didache* represents a pre-Synoptic form of the

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**81** Similarly, the next woe (*Dial.* 174b), οὐαὶ ὑμῖν, γραμματεῖς, ὅτι τὰς κλεῖς ἔχετε, καὶ αὐτοὶ οὐκ εἰσέρχεσθε καὶ τοὺς εἰσερχομένους κωλύετε· ὁδηγοὶ τυφλοὶ, takes it address (γραμματεῖς) and the interjection ὁδηγοὶ τυφλοὶ from *Matt* 23:13, but the notion of having the keys (ἦρατε τὴν κλεῖδα) and preventing entry (ἐκωλύσατε) from *Luke* 11:52.

**82** Audet, *Didachè* (n. 36), 185.

**83** Rordorf, “Jesus Tradition” (n. 36), 411.

sayings of Jesus. Or some argue that the curious complexion of agreements, sometimes with Matthew, sometimes with Luke, are not the result of literary dependence at all or visual copying but on the contrary, the hallmarks of an “oral-derived text formed though multiple performances.”<sup>84</sup> The difficulty involved with these hypotheses, as Köster and Tuckett have shown, is that these conflationary displays display redactional features of Matthew and Luke and hence must be post-synoptic.

An alternate to oral tradition is to suppose that Justin (2 Clement, *Didache*) relied on post-synoptic harmonies that had already conflated Matthew and Luke. This is a solution embraced by Bellinzoni in his monograph on Justin’s citations among others.<sup>85</sup> While this solution may be momentarily satisfying, it in effect only pushes back the problem of accounting for the unusual conflationary technique, although by (gratuitously) attributing the technique to someone other than Justin, it avoids the problem of the dissonance with Justin’s own habits in citing authority texts. Yet as Verheyden observes, “[it] also does not help the gospel harmony hypothesis that it seems to be impossible to detect in Justin’s citations anything like an overall pattern in the way the Gospel texts would have been harmonized.”<sup>86</sup>

There is yet another difficulty. As Sharon Mattila and Robert Derrenbacker has argued, it is rather uncommon to find in historiographic and biographical writing the kind of micro-conflation of source materials that would be necessary to imagine, e.g., Mark’s literary procedure on the Two-Gospel Hypothesis, where *ex hypothesi* Mark alternately followed Matthew, then Luke, not only at the level of section or paragraph, but at the level of sentence, phrase and the selection of

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**84** Perttu Nikander, “The Sectio Evangelica (*Didache* 1.3b–2.1) and Performance,” in *The Didache: A Missing Piece of the Puzzle in Early Christianity*, ed. Jonathan A. Draper and Clayton N. Jefford, *Early Christianity and Its Literature* 10 (Atlanta, Ga.: Society of Biblical Literature, 2015), 287–310, here 309.

**85** Bellinzoni, *Sayings of Jesus in Justin* (n. 80), who does not posit a full harmony à la Tatian, but rather a “catechism” that harmonized some Synoptic sayings. Helmut Koester, “The Text of the Synoptic Gospels in the Second Century,” in *Gospel Traditions in the Second Century: Origins, Recensions, Text, and Transmission*, ed. William L. Petersen, *Christianity and Judaism in Antiquity* 3 (Notre Dame; London: University of Notre Dame Press, 1989), 19–37, here 29–30 thinks that Justin or someone from his school composed this harmony, not as a catechism, “but was composing the one inclusive new Gospel which would make its predecessors, Matthew and Luke (and possibly Mark), obsolete.” See also Michael Mees, “Form und Komposition der Herrenworte in Justin, *Apol.* 1,15–17,” *Aug* 17.2 (1977): 283–306.

**86** Verheyden, “Justin’s Text of the Gospels” (n. 77), 318.

individual linguistic tokens.<sup>87</sup> On the contrary, the work of T. James Luce on Livy and Christopher Pelling on Plutarch's Lives has shown that ancient authors, in composing biographical or historical accounts, tended to work in blocks rather than engaging in "micro-conflation" of sources, which would have required an elaborate dissection of the wording of each account and a recombination of elements at the level of the sentence.<sup>88</sup> Yet that seems precisely what 2 Clement and Justin have done.<sup>89</sup>

## 4 The Beginnings of Doxography

As long as we take historiographical and biographical practices as determinative of the techniques of transmission and presentation of sayings of Jesus in the Did. 1.3–2.1. 2 Clement, and Justin, we are left with impossible problems: micro-conflation of predecessor texts seems to be an odd and even unparalleled practice; resort to the vagaries of oral performance amounts to explaining *obscure per obscurius*; to posit an earlier harmony only defers the problems of literary conflation to an even less accessible level; and to blame the faulty memory of the writers is hardly a satisfying explanation.

Plutarch, who likely worked from notebooks of extracts in composing the Moralia, produced some composite citations, usually by combining materials from the same source, or at least from the same author. For example, in Quaestiones convivales 742 A the debate is about whether the settlement of a dispute requires the death of an opponent or merely his defeat. What Plutarch cites is a compilation from the Iliad, attributed to Agememnon:

εἰ μὲν κεν Μενέλαον Ἀλέξανδρος καταπέφνη,  
αὐτὸς ἔπειθ' Ἑλένην ἀγέτω καὶ κτήματα πάντα. (Il. 3.281–282)<sup>90</sup>  
εἰ δέ κ' Ἀλέξανδρον κτείνῃ ξανθὸς Μενέλαος, (Il. 3.284)  
κτῆμαθ' ἑλὼν εὖ πάντα γυναῖκά τε οἴκαδ' ἀγέσθω. (Il. 3.72)

<sup>87</sup> Sharon L. Mattila, "A Question Too Often Neglected," *NTS* 41 (1995): 199–217; Robert A. Derrenbacker, *Ancient Compositional Practices and the Synoptic Problem*, BETL 186 (Leuven: Peeters, 2005).

<sup>88</sup> T. James Luce, *Livy: The Composition of His History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977); Christopher B.R. Pelling, "Plutarch's Method of Work in the Roman Lives," *JHS* 99 (1979): 74–96; "Plutarch's Adaptation of His Source Material," *JHS* 100 (1980): 127–39.

<sup>89</sup> Helmut Koester, *Ancient Christian Gospels: Their History and Development* (Philadelphia; London: Trinity Press International; SCM, 1990), 365.

<sup>90</sup> Il. 3.282: ἔχέτω; Plutarch: ἀγέτω.

If Alexander should bring death to Menelaus  
 Then Helen shall be his and with her all her wealth.  
 But if fair-haired Menelaus works Alexander's death,  
 Let him take all the wealth and wife to carry home.

As Ehorn observes, the omission of Il. 3.283 “then we will depart on our seafaring ships,” is intelligible since it would have interrupted the comparison that Plutarch wants to construct, and his adducing of Il. 3.72 (in the Iliad in the mouth of Alexander, not Agamemnon) provides a stronger conclusion, and probably also accounts for the substitution in 3.282 of ἀγέτω for the Iliad’s ἐχέτω.<sup>91</sup>

While there are a few such composite or compound citations in Plutarch, the vast majority in the *Moralia* are not, and those that do merge texts normally do so from the same author and the same work.<sup>92</sup> Only rarely does Plutarch combine different authors.

Conflation and harmonization of disparate opinions was, however, a phenomenon that can be observed in the context of philosophical doxography. The tradition of doxography is at least as old as Aristotle (*Topics* 1.14) where the point was to collect a variety of opinions on one topic, resulting in antilogical collections (contrasting opinions).<sup>93</sup> These became especially useful in philosophical polemics, and eventually, in heresiology, for example, in Ps-Justin’s *Cohortatio ad Graecos*.<sup>94</sup> But another tradition developed of doxographies that tended to harmonize opinions.<sup>95</sup>

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**91** Seth M. Ehorn, “Composite Citations in Plutarch,” in *Composite Citations in Antiquity*, ed. Sean A. Adams and Seth M. Ehorn, Library of New Testament Studies 525 (London and New York: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2016), 35–56, here 45, who also notes that the misattribution of Alexander’s words to Agamemnon must be seen in the context of the fact that in 741E, just a few lines earlier, he has quoted Alexander’s challenge (Il. 3.68–72), including what he later includes attributed to Agamemnon in 742 A.

**92** According to Ehorn, “Composite Citations in Plutarch,” 56 Plutarch offers compound citations of Homer, Iliad, or Odyssey; Plato, *Legatio*; Aristotle, *De anima*; Euripides, *Erechtheus*; Aeschylus *Septem*; and Pindar. In few instances Plutarch combines material from the Iliad and the Odyssey (Adol. poet. aud. 15C).

**93** E.g. J. W. B. Barns, “A New Gnomologium: With Some Remarks on Gnomonic Anthologies (I),” *CQ* 44 (1950): 126–37; id., “A New Gnomologium: With Some Remarks on Gnomonic Anthologies (II),” *CQ* 1 new series (1951): 1–19.

**94** Miroslav Marcovich, *Pseudo-Justinus: Cohortatio ad Graeco: De Monarchia. Oratio ad Graecos*, Patristische Texte und Studien 32 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1990); Christoph Riedweg, *Ps.-Justin (Markell von Ankyra?) Ad Graecos De Vera Religione (bisher “Cohortatio ad Graeco”): Einleitung und Kommentar*, Schweizerische Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft 25/1–2 (Basel: Reinhardt, 1994) and Jaap Mansfeld and David T. Runia, *Aëtiana: The Method and Intellectual Context of a Doxographer*, Vol. I: The Sources, *Philosophia Antiqua* 73 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 164–66.



The latter can be seen in Middle-Platonic epitome, the *Didaskalikos* of Alcinous (I/II C.E.), who drew heavily on the *Timaeus* and *Parmenides* and which was designed for use in a school setting.<sup>96</sup> John Whittaker's examination of the *Didaskalikos* challenged a common view, according to which fragments of philosophical texts transmitted in the form of quotations were unreliable, "since they are likely to be quoted from memory, or borrowed from someone else who was quoting from memory or, even worse, quoted from memory from someone else who was quoting from memory."<sup>97</sup> Variations in longer quotations were often dismissed as due either to the carelessness of the secondary author, or the corruption of the text being cited.

Comparing the citations of Alcinous to those of Plato, Whittaker noted a variety of small alterations: changes in word order – which were probably regarded as too insignificant even to warrant comment by ancient authors –, additions, deletions, the substitution of synonyms, plural/singular variations, and grammatical changes that conformed the citation to the grammatical context of the secondary work. These were apparently not deemed to be either misquotation or corruption of the text, but rather clarifications of the points being made.<sup>98</sup> Later, Porphyry would even say of his citations of the Chaldean Oracles, that οὐδὲν οὔτε προστέθεικα οὔτε ἀφείλον τῶν χρησθέντων νοημάτων, "I have added nothing, nor subtracted from the sentiments of the oracles," even though he also admits that he corrected readings that he believed to be corrupt, improved the clarity of the text, and omitted what was irrelevant to his own purposes.<sup>99</sup> Clearly, quoting the sentiments of a text was not the same thing as quoting the text verbatim. Whittaker concludes:

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<sup>95</sup> Jaap Mansfeld, "Sources," in *The Cambridge History of Hellenistic Philosophy*, ed. Keimpe Algra, et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 26–28.

<sup>96</sup> John Whittaker, *texte établi et commenté, Alcinoos: Enseignement des doctrines de Platon*, trans. Pierre Louis (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1990).

<sup>97</sup> John Whittaker, "The Value of Indirect Tradition in the Establishing of Greek Philosophical Texts, or the Act of Misquotation," in *Editing Greek and Latin Texts: Papers Given at the Twenty-Third Annual Conference on Editorial Problems, University of Toronto, 6–7 November, 1987*, ed. John N. Grant (New York: AMS, 1989), 63–95, here 63.

<sup>98</sup> Christopher Stanley's ("Paul and Homer: Greco-Roman Citation Practice in the First Century CE," *NovT* 32.1 [1990]: 48–78) finding in respect to citations of Homer in Strabo, Longinus, Heraclitus's Homeric Allegories, and Plutarch mirror those of Whittaker: while there is general faithfulness to the source text, the citations display an array of modifications that conform the citation to the grammatical requirements of the secondary author, the omission of irrelevant or problematic details and the conflation of texts. He finds, however, few instances of additions.

<sup>99</sup> Whittaker, "Indirect Tradition" (n. 97), 69.

such modifications were not considered improper, even where, in the case of alteration of the logical sequence, they might necessitate changes in the grammatical forms of words. Nor is the [modern] editor obliged to assume in such instances faulty memory or carelessness on the part of his author, nor, unless other circumstances so dictate, is he under any obligation to correct the indirect evidence in the light of its original, nor, even worse, the original in the light of the indirect evidence.<sup>100</sup>

The kinds of alterations evidenced in 2 Clement and Justin's quotations of classical sources and of the Septuagint are often of the order that Whittaker finds typical of Alcinous.

According to his finding, verbatim reproduction of sources was not a controlling virtue:

Instead we must acknowledge that there is about the ancient manner of quotation something of the technique of theme and variation, as though one thought it constricting and impersonal, as well as boring, to repeat perpetually the same familiar words; as though it were expected of the epigone not that he deny himself by leaving well alone, but that he add to what he quotes the touch of his own or some commentating predecessor's presumptive individuality, or at the very least assume a measure of studied carelessness...<sup>101</sup>

Whittaker's remarks have been cited widely by members of our guild, usually in the context of evaluating the alleged citations of New Testament texts in the Apostolic Fathers and Justin,<sup>102</sup> and in order to challenge the view that patristic citations of these texts were careless or the result of faulty memory.<sup>103</sup> Simon Gathercole adduced Whittaker to qualify DeConick's point<sup>104</sup> that variations of Thomas from the Synoptics are due to the vagaries of oral transmission; Gathercole points out that they may also be due to intentional literary manipulation of written texts.<sup>105</sup>

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**100** Whittaker, "Indirect Tradition" (n. 97), 74–75.

**101** Whittaker, "Indirect Tradition" (n. 97), 94–95.

**102** See Charles E. Hill, *The Johannine Corpus in the Early Church* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 68–69.

**103** Charles E. Hill, "In These Very Words": Methods and Standard of Literary Borrowing in the Second Century," in *The Early Text of the New Testament*, ed. Charles E. Hill and Michael J. Kruger (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 280: "Christian writers inherited from Greco-Roman and from Jewish culture an approach to literary borrowing which did not prize exact replication of the text in the new setting as its chief ideal."

**104** April D. DeConick, *The Original Gospel of Thomas in Translation, with a Commentary and New English Translation of the Complete Gospel*, LNTS 287 (London and New York: T&T Clark International, 2006), 21.

**105** Simon Gathercole, *The Composition of the Gospel of Thomas: Original Language and Influences*, SNTSMS 151 (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 217.

It is important, however, to take note of Whittaker's full argument, which is routinely ignored by those who cite him only on the topic of the manipulation of citations. Whittaker's main point was that there are instances where the variation from the primary source in the secondary materials is due not to the alterations of the primary text by the secondary author, but point to now-lost school traditions. For example, Alcinous's paraphrase of Timaeus 42e7–43a2 in Didaskalikos 171–172 agrees with Galen's citation and points to a “vanished tradition of commentary running parallel to the text of Plato but coinciding with that text only spasmodically.”<sup>106</sup> Plotinus, Origen, and Gregory's citations of Parmenides (130c6), ἃ [...], οἷον θριξ καὶ πηλὸς καὶ ῥύπος “things [...] such as hair and mud and dirt,” reverse the latter two terms and omit the first, again pointing to a commentary tradition current Origen's school.

When Plato in the *Timaeus* (42e7–43a2), describing the constitution of humans, asserts that humans “borrowed (δανειζόμενοι) from the cosmos portions (μόρια) of fire and earth and water and air, as if meaning to pay them back (ἀποδοθησόμενα πάλιν),” Alcinous (16.1 171.37–172.2) has “they borrowed (δανεισάμενοι) from the first substance portions (μόρια) for determinate periods (πρὸς ὠρισμένους χρόνους), as if meaning to pay them back again (ἀποδοθησόμενα). There is no doubt that Alcinous is dependent, directly or indirectly, on Plato here, in spite of his reformulation and additions. Yet the fact that the same addition – καθ' ὠρισμένας περιόδους καιρῶν – also occurs in Philo, *Her.* 282<sup>107</sup> when there is no reason to suppose that Alcinous knows Philo suggests that both are relying not directly on the *Timaeus* but on a tradition of commentary.”<sup>108</sup>

What Whittaker suggests, then, is that Platonic materials come to Alcinous both through the textual transmission of Platonic works, and through a parallel commentary tradition that has elaborated, abbreviated, and reframed Platonic sayings. Similar observations can be made of the use of Homeric texts by later authors: some of their citations may rely on the textual transmission of the epics, but others rest on the rich Homeric commentary tradition that was already well developed in the common era.

<sup>106</sup> Whittaker, “Indirect Tradition” (n. 97), 82.

<sup>107</sup> Philo, *Her.* 282: τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἕκαστος ἡμῶν συγκριθεὶς ἐκ τῶν τεττάρων καὶ δανεισάμενος ἀφ' ἑκάστης οὐσίας μικρὰ μόρια, καθ' ὠρισμένας περιόδους καιρῶν ἐκτίνει τὸ δάνειον, εἰ μὲν τι ξηρὸν εἴη, ἀποδιδούς γῆν, εἰ δὲ τι ὑγρόν, ὕδατι, εἰ δὲ ψυχρόν, ἀέρι, εἰ δ' ἔνθερμον, πυρί, “each individual among us, being compounded of the four elements, and borrowing small portions from each essence, does, at certain fixed periods, repay what he has borrowed, giving what he has dry to the earth, what moisture he has to the water, what heat he has to the fire, and what cold he has to the air.”

<sup>108</sup> Whittaker, “Indirect Tradition” (n. 97), 83.

At some points Alcinous' procedures are harmonistic, as for example when he describes the spirited part of the soul not in Plato's terms (τὸ θυμοειδές, Resp. 410d6, 411a10 and *passim*) but with the Aristotelian term τὸ θυμικόν.<sup>109</sup> Most interesting for our purposes, however, are instances of conflation. Whittaker notes that Alcinous' description of philosophy at the beginning of the Didaskalikos (152.2): Φιλοσοφία ἐστὶν ὄρεξις σοφίας, ἣ λύσις καὶ περιαγωγή ψυχῆς ἀπὸ σώματος, "Philosophy is a longing for wisdom, or a release and turning of the soul from the body." This is clearly borrowed from the Phaedo 67d8–10, "the release (λύσις) and separation (χωρισμός) of the soul from the body." But Alcinous' term περιαγωγή, which replaces χωρισμός, is borrowed from the definition of philosophy in the Republic where it conjures up the Myth of the Cave: ψυχῆς περιαγωγή ἐκ νυκτερινῆς τινοῦς ἡμέρας εἰς ἀληθινήν, "a turning about of the soul from a day whose light is darkness to a true day" (Resp. 521c6–8). Whittaker asks:

Are we to assume that Alcinous has confused in his mind the two Platonic texts and unconsciously substituted περιαγωγή in place of χωρισμός. That the answer to this question must be negative is made manifest by the comparison of Alcinous' definition with that given by Iamblichus in Chapter 13 of his Protrepticus, which conflates and elaborates the same two Platonic texts and includes the same coupling of λύσις and περιαγωγή. Since there is no likelihood that Iamblichus knew the Didaskalikos, we have to suppose that the conflation of the two Platonic texts is no freak of faulty memory on the part of Alcinous but rather that the conflation was a constant ingredient of the Platonic scholastic tradition, one aim of which was to demonstrate that Plato was coherent with himself by bringing together compatible δόγματα from different dialogues.<sup>110</sup>

From these and other examples, Whittaker rejects the suggestion that the text of Plato was extensively corrupted owing to faulty memory or careless transmission. On the contrary, the variations that are attested in Alcinous and other sources point to the use of a "parallel tradition of commentary" that was utilized alongside the text of Plato.<sup>111</sup> This suggestion is strongly supported by the fact that the alterations that Alcinous evidences are also attested in such writers as Philo, Plotinus, Origen, Gregory and Iamblichus, who had no reason or ability to use Alcinous' summary of Platonic doctrines.

**109** Borrowed from Aristotle's account of the Platonic tripartite soul in *De anima* 3.9, 432d4–26 (τινες [i.e., Plato] λέγουσι διορίζοντες, λογιστικὸν καὶ θυμικὸν καὶ ἐπιθυμητικόν, οἱ δὲ τὸ λόγον ἔχον καὶ τὸ ἄλογον). See Whittaker, "Indirect Tradition" (n. 97), 85 for this and other examples of substitution of Peripatetic and Stoic vocabulary.

**110** Whittaker, "Indirect Tradition" (n. 97), 89.

**111** Whittaker, "Indirect Tradition" (n. 97), 94.

The application of Whittaker's model to the conflated citations discussed above seems obvious. First, the small changes that are evident in 2 Clement and Justin's citations of the Jewish Bible are entirely consistent with those seen in Alcinous' citations of Plato, where there are slight abridgments, the change of number or person of verbs, and the inversions of the word order of the original.<sup>112</sup> Second, it seems clear from the case of 2 Clem. 6.8; 11.2 and 13.2, and 1 Apol. 32.12; 44.1–4; and Dial. 20.1, that Clement and Justin are not directly or exclusively dependent on the Jewish Bible but also have access to other exegetical traditions that have already adapted the text of the Jewish Bible to different uses.

Third, the sayings with parallels in the Synoptic tradition offer the most complex situation. Verheyden is no doubt correct that a single solution will not fit every instance.<sup>113</sup>

The sayings found in 1 Apol. 15.1–7 come directly or indirectly from Matthew, there being no Lukan versions at all. Verheyden offers a plausible case for deriving these directly from Matthew. The same applies to

1 Apol. 15.17 (|| Matt 6:1)

1 Apol. 16.5 (|| Matt 5:34, 37)

For 1 Apol. 15.8, the Lukan addition εἰς μετάνοιαν is precisely the kind of conflation of two texts that one also finds in Alcinous, whose definition of philosophy began with the *Phaedo* but ended with the *Republic*. In 1 Apol. 16.6 there is an analogous conflation between two Matthaean texts, Matt 22:38; and Matt 4:10, and Dial. 76.5 combines elements of Matt 25:30 with Matt 25:41.

The sayings in 1 Apol. 15–16 which have both Matthaean and Lukan parallels, typically conflate elements from both. Moreover, although we can recognize in Justin's citations several discrete synoptic texts, he presents them as single sayings in the following instances:

1 Apol. 15.9 (Matt 5:46, 47, 44 || Luke 6:32, 33, 27, 28)

1 Apol. 15.10–12 (Matt 5:42, 47, 46; 6:19–20; 16:26; || Luke 6:30, 34, 32; 9:25)

1 Apol. 15.13–16 (Matt 5:45, 48; 6:25–26, 33; 6:21 || Luke 6:36; 12:22–24, 31, 34)

1 Apol. 16.1–2 (Matt 5:39–40; 5:22, 41, 16 || Luke 6:29)

1 Apol. 16.7 (Matt 19:16–17 || Luke 18:18–19)

1 Apol. 16.9–13 + Dial. 35.3a; 76.5 (Matt 7:21–23, 15–16, 19 || Luke 6:46; 10:16; 13:26–28)

<sup>112</sup> See above, nn. 63, 71 and p. 26.

<sup>113</sup> Verheyden, "Justin's Text of the Gospels" (n. 77), 319.

The same type of conflation is seen in Dial. 17.4a, where Justin presents what we would recognize as two separate woes as a single, composite woe that conflates Matt 23:23 with Luke 11:42. For the second part of this woe, Justin seems not to have recognized the (more distant) parallel between Matt 23:27 (on whitewashed tombs) and Luke 11:44 (on hidden tombs), and so takes over only the Matthaean portion. Yet at 17.4b when he does recognize the commonalities between Matt 23:13 and Luke 11:52, he takes elements from each in formulating a woe to the scribes.

If we can see in 2 Clement and Justin's use of the kinds of doxographic practices evidenced also in Alcinous, there remains the question of whether Justin himself is responsible for such conflations. In addressing this question it must be kept in mind that some of the conflations in Justin and 2 Clement are also attested in other sources that cannot be assumed to have known either 2 Clement or Justin, notably the Pseudo-Clementine Homilies.<sup>114</sup> It is also true that in general when 2 Clement and Justin cites other sources of authority from classical literature or the Jewish Bible they are not quite as adventuresome as they are in citation of Synoptic sayings with both Matthaean and Lukan parallels. This, and the fact that conflated sayings that appear in both Justin's *Apology* and the *Dialogue* manifest the same conflational techniques, probably implies that Justin has availed himself of one or more collections of sayings of Jesus – perhaps among the documents that he calls ἀπομνημονεύματα<sup>115</sup> – that already exhibited these conflations. Yet given the apparent late appearance of Luke onto the scene, such collections should not be dated much before Justin (and 2 Clement).

The conflational techniques seen in 2 Clement and Justin match what can be gleaned from other second century doxographic collections that similarly present opinions and sayings in forms that conflate elements of discrete predecessor texts. The compositional techniques that were uncommon or completely unattested in historiographic and biographical writings are in fact attested in doxographic writings. We might then propose that the strange phenomenon of conflated sayings points to the beginnings of a Christian doxographic practice.

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<sup>114</sup> See Kline, "Harmonized Sayings" (n. 68), 223–41.

<sup>115</sup> Wally V. Cirafesi and Gregory Fewster, "Justin's ἀπομνημονεύματα and Ancient Greco-Roman Memoirs," *EC* 7.2 (2016): 186–212.

Paul Foster

# Ignatius and the Gospels

## 1 Introduction

Writing in the early decades of the second century,<sup>1</sup> Ignatius uses the term “gospel,” εὐαγγέλιον, on multiple occasions, he reveals a knowledge of key narrative details of the life of Jesus that are paralleled in the written gospels, and he replicates traditions that have close affinities with material in the canonical gospels. Notwithstanding this impressive range of data, the conclusions that can be derived from this material concerning Ignatius’ reception, use and knowledge of any or all of the four canonical gospels are limited, and certainly contested.<sup>2</sup> Therefore, it is important to reassess this material contained in the seven authentic letters of Ignatius not solely as isolated pieces of evidence, but as an interlocking pattern of related evidence. This will better permit an assessment of the sources for and the deployment of Ignatius’ knowledge of the Jesus tradition.

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1 The dating of Ignatius’ letters has been debated in the last few decades. Most notably Reinhard Hübner and his doctoral student Thomas Lechner have argued that the content of the letters require a date no earlier than the reign of Marcus Aurelius, and hence they could not have been written during the lifetime of Ignatius. Reinhard M. Hübner, “Thesen zur Echtheit und Datierung der sieben Briefen des Ignatius von Antiochien,” *ZAC* 1 (1997): 44–72; Thomas Lechner, *Ignatius adversus Valentinianos? Chronologische und theologiegeschichtliche Studien zu den Briefen des Ignatius von Antiochien* (Leiden /New York/Cologne, 1999). By contrast, the traditional position articulated by Zahn and Lightfoot for a date during the latter part of Trajan’s reign. Lightfoot places the martyrdom, and hence the composition of the seven authentic letters “within a few years of A.D. 110, before or after.” Joseph B. Lightfoot, *The Apostolic Fathers*, part 2, *Ignatius and Polycarp* (London: Macmillan, 1889–1890), 2.449. See also Theodor von Zahn, *Ignatius von Antiochien* (Gotha: Perthes, 1873). More recently arguments have been advanced that see the seven letters as authentic, but suggest an intermediate date of composition in the second quarter second century, probably during the reign of Hadrian. See Paul Foster, “The Epistles of Ignatius of Antioch,” *Expository Times* 117 (2006): 487–95; and *Expository Times* 118 (2006) 2–11; reprinted in *The Writings of the Apostolic Fathers*, ed. Paul Foster (London and New York: T&T, 2007), 81–107; Timothy D. Barnes, “The Date of Ignatius,” *Expository Times* 117 (2008): 119–30.

2 Most notably Helmut Köster rejected Ignatius’ use of any written gospel. Helmut Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung bei den Apostolischen Vätern* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1957).

## 2 Ignatius' Use of εὐαγγέλιον Terminology

The noun εὐαγγέλιον is used on eight occasions in the writings of Ignatius, but occurs in only two of the seven authentic letters. By contrast, the related verb εὐαγγελίζω does not occur in his extant writings, although the verbal form is found in the LXX,<sup>3</sup> the NT,<sup>4</sup> and among other authors who are grouped together along with Ignatius as Apostolic Fathers.<sup>5</sup> The nominal form, εὐαγγέλιον, occurs six times in Ignatius' Letter to the Philadelphians (Ign. Phld. 5.1, 2 [twice]; 8.2; 9.2 [twice]; and twice in his Letter to the Smyrnaeans (Ign. Smyr. 5.1; 7.2). It is helpful to look at those eight occurrences in some detail to probe Ignatius' understanding of the term εὐαγγέλιον, and to see if a clear sense of its referent can be determined.

In the first of these references in the Letter to the Philadelphians Ignatius describes himself as “fleeing to the gospel as to the flesh of Jesus”, προσφυγὼν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ ὡς σαρκὶ Ἰησοῦ (Ign. Phld. 5.1). The sense is far from clear at this point. Ignatius declares his love for the Philadelphian believers, he discloses his self-awareness that he has not yet reached perfection, but that the prayers of the Philadelphians on his behalf will assist him in attaining the goal of perfection. Not only does Ignatius declare that the prayers of the Philadelphians will make him perfect, he also states that the consequence or function of such perfection is that he might attain “that portion which through mercy has been allotted to me” (Ign. Phld. 5.1). It is possible that this self-effacing language is used as a strategy to diffuse tensions that Ignatius had caused among the Philadelphian believers when he addressed them while he was present with them (see Ign. Phld. 6.3–9.2). As Schoedel notes, in Phld. 5.1–6.2 Ignatius' declaration of his love for the Philadelphians and his self-effacing demeanour “are likely to have been put forward in self-defense since Ignatius was thought to have proceeded

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<sup>3</sup> Included among the approximately twenty occurrences of verbal forms of εὐαγγελίζω are the following passages, 1 Kgs 31:9; 2 Kgs 18:19, 20, 27, 31; 3 Kgs 1:42; 1 Chr 10:9; Ps 39:9; 67:11; 95:2; Joel 2:32; Nah 1:15; Isa 40:9; 52:7; 60:6; 61:1; Jer 20:15; 1 Macc 18:23. An exact enumeration is not straightforward due to the occurrence of the term in some Septuagintal recensions whereas it is absent in others. See Edwin Hatch and Henry A. Redpath, *A Concordance to the Septuagint: And Other Greek Versions of the Old Testament (including the Apocryphal Books)* second edition (Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1998), 568.

<sup>4</sup> Among other occurrences are Matt 11:5; Lk 1:19; 4:43; Acts 8:4; 10:36; Rom 1:15; 10:15; 1 Cor 15:1–2; 2 Cor 10:16; 11:7; Gal 1:8, 16; 4:13; Eph 2:17; 3:8; 1 Thess 3:6; Heb 4:2, 6; 1 Pet 1:12, 25; 4:6; Rev 10:7; 14:6.

<sup>5</sup> For instance, see 1 Clem. 32.3; Ep. Barn. 8.3; 14.9.



in a high-handed fashion in Philadelphia.”<sup>6</sup> This is likely correct, but it still throws little light on Ignatius’ declaration that he adheres to the “gospel” in the same manner that he holds to “the flesh of Jesus.” Elsewhere in his writings Ignatius’ references to the flesh of Christ serve both positively and negatively. On the positive side, reference to or affirmation of Christ’s appearance in the flesh is designed to demonstrate the reality of the incarnation (cf. Ign. Eph. 1.3), or to describe the eucharistic (Ign. Rom. 7.3; Ign. Phld. 4.1), or to reference salvific realities as Ignatius understands them (Ign. Trall. 1.1; Ign. Smyr. 1.2). On the negative side, appeal to the flesh of Christ is a way of exposing the false beliefs of those whom Ignatius casts as opponents. Such individuals are depicted as those who “do not confess the eucharist to be the flesh of our saviour Jesus Christ, which suffered for our sins, and which the Father of his goodness raised” (Ign. Smyr. 7.1).<sup>7</sup> Brown suggests that in the synonymous comparison of the “flesh of Jesus” with the εὐαγγέλιον there is an intentional temporal link. Thus he argues:

Ignatius is here reminding the Philadelphians of the authoritative supports – again, up to the present – of his position as he moves toward his expected end, The Apostles are the past witnesses of the εὐαγγέλιον accomplished by the historical flesh of Jesus; and the presbytery of the Ignatian church witnesses to the εὐαγγέλιον subsisting in the eucharistic flesh of Jesus. In his righteous suffering, Ignatius’ hope is the gospel that exists throughout history.<sup>8</sup>

While this reading creates a logical progression between this statement and some of the surrounding material, the links are not quite so self-apparent in the text.

Hence, in this context, fleeing to the gospel is equated with holding fast to the flesh of Christ. Such an action denotes the security and safety to be found through aligning oneself with key teachings and affirmations of the faith. However, in this context it is not possible to determine whether the term gospel is a broadly-defined term that denotes the core of Christian teaching, or whether it refers more specifically to the traditions and instructions contained in written, but here unnamed, documents.

Therefore, the lack of specificity may favour the first interpretation, namely that the term εὐαγγέλιον is used here in a generic way to refer to Christian in-

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<sup>6</sup> William R. Schoedel, *Ignatius of Antioch* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985), 201.

<sup>7</sup> By contrast, as Vall notes, believers encounter Christ in the eucharist “in a remarkably concrete manner”, Gregory Vall, *Learning Christ: Ignatius of Antioch and the Mystery of Redemption* (Washington, DC: CUA, 2013), 14.

<sup>8</sup> Charles T. Brown, *The Gospel and Ignatius of Antioch* (New York/Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2000), 16.

struction. Yet given the ambiguity of the expression that at most remains an impression rather than anything that approaches a firm conclusion.

That impression may receive greater support in the immediately following passage where Ignatius declares that, τοὺς προφῆτας ... εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον κατηγγελκέναι, “the prophets ... have proclaimed the gospel” (Ign. Phld. 5.2). He concludes the reference to the prophets by declaring them to be, ὑπὸ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ μεμαρτυρημένοι καὶ συνηριθμημένοι ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ τῆς κοινῆς ἐλπίδος, ‘approved by Jesus Christ and included in the gospel of our shared hope’ (Ign. Phld. 5.2). Both the verb of proclamation, κατηγγελκέναι, and viewing the prophets as the proleptic messengers of the gospel suggest that the reference is not to written documents but is a looser way of describing the Christian message. Thus Lightfoot, discussing the second reference to εὐαγγέλιον language in this context states, “[t]here is no reference to the written record in εὐαγγελίῳ here.”<sup>9</sup>

The next reference in Philadelphians is also somewhat cryptic, yet important for determining the relationship between written tradition and the common deposit of teaching, which Ignatius claims he teaches and which is portrayed as representing the received faith of the church. Ignatius describes certain figures who dissent from his own viewpoint as being contentious and acting in a manner that is antithetical to the teaching of Christ. Thus he writes:

παρακαλῶ δὲ ὑμᾶς μηδὲν κατ’ ἐριθείαν πράσσειν ἀλλὰ κατὰ χριστομαθίαν ἐπεὶ ἤκουσά τινων λεγόντων ὅτι ἐὰν μὴ ἐν τοῖς ἀρχείοις εὕρω ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ οὐ πιστεύω καὶ λέγοντός μου αὐτοῖς ὅτι γέγραπται ἀπεκριθῆσάν μοι ὅτι πρόκειται ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀρχεῖα ἐστὶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός τὰ ἄθικτα ἀρχεῖα ὁ σταυρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ θάνατος καὶ ἡ ἀνάστασις αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ πίστις ἡ δι’ αὐτοῦ ἐν οἷς θέλω ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ ὑμῶν δικαιωθῆναι

Moreover, I urge you to do nothing in a spirit of contentiousness, but in accordance with the teaching of Christ. For I heard some people say, “If I do not find it in the archives, I do not believe it in the gospel.” And when I say to them, “It is written”, they answered me, “That is precisely the question.” But for me, the “archives” are Jesus Christ, the unalterable archives are his cross and death and his resurrection, and the faith that comes through him; by these things I want, through your prayers, to be justified (Ign. Phld. 8.2).

The tension that Ignatius identifies here is between his own teachings, and those who claim that his teachings have no warrant in what are labelled as the “archives.” It is apparent from the purported conversation that Ignatius’ opponents see the “archives” as being a written record, since they refute his contention concerning his teaching that “it is written.” According to Ignatius’ opponents, that is precisely the issue at stake – whether his teachings are indeed “written,” and

<sup>9</sup> Lightfoot, *The Apostolic Fathers* (n. 1), 2.263.

thus have a claim to antiquity. The precise identity of the “archives” is not clarified in this context, although there are good reasons to take the term as denoting the Jewish scriptures.<sup>10</sup> Ignatius appears to have to make his argument by claiming that his teachings are “written” in a metaphorical manner. That is his teachings are “written” in the cross, death and resurrection of Christ.<sup>11</sup> This metaphorical form of the argument suggests that Ignatius did not view the gospel as a written text, but as the living testimony and teaching that recalled various key events involving Jesus.<sup>12</sup>

The final two references to the “gospel” in the Letter to the Philadelphians seem to confirm the impression that Ignatius uses the term to designate the salvific events associated with Jesus, rather than as a referent for written documents. The gospel is seen as having distinctive qualities. These unique elements are listed by Ignatius as being, “the coming of the saviour, our Lord Jesus Christ, his suffering, and the resurrection” (Ign. Phld. 9.2). Ignatius’ rebuttal appears to be directed against those who adopted a conservative approach to scriptural interpretation. They are seen as adopting a limited reading of scripture. By contrast, Ignatius re-reads scripture, tradition and events through a highly Christological or gospel-centric lens, where the gospel is seen as a shorthand way of referring to the key soteriological events of incarnation, crucifixion, and resurrection. Thus, in the same context, in his final reference to the gospel in this letter, Ignatius can declare that the prophets announced Christ, but by contrast “the gospel is the imperishable finished work” (Ign. Phld. 9.2). Consequently, Ignatius understands the “gospel” not as a written document, but as a key set of events involving Jesus. This concatenation of events, that are labelled collectively as the “gospel” are also the hermeneutical centre from which every other statement or understanding of faith emanates.

There are two further references to the gospel, which are contained in the Letter to the Smyrnaeans. These two occurrences of the term may be more suggestive of a reference to written traditions, but the evidence is still ambiguous.<sup>13</sup>

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10 William R. Schoedel, “Ignatius and the Archives”, *HTR* 71 (1978): 97–106.

11 Brown makes essentially the same point when he observes, “For Ignatius, then, the only archives necessary, as the foundational information for the church, are not found in written documents but are the historical facts of the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus.” Brown, *The Gospel and Ignatius of Antioch* (n. 8), 18.

12 Schoedel arrives at basically the same conclusion when he states that “a reference to a written gospel is unlikely in Ignatius.” Schoedel, *Ignatius of Antioch* (n. 6), 208.

13 Brown is more certain that there is no possible reference to the gospel as a written document. He states, “we find no suggestion that the salvation events are made evident through written documents.” Brown, *The Gospel and Ignatius of Antioch* (n. 8), 21. While finding Brown’s po-

In contrast to the situation at Philadelphia, in Smyrnaeans Ignatius confronts individuals who are accused of denying the incarnation and the reality of Christ suffering both in the “body and the spirit” (Ign. Smyr. 1.1). Moreover, such people do not affirm that Jesus had a physical existence in the post-resurrection period. As a corrective, Ignatius affirms that, “he was in the flesh even after the resurrection” (Ign. Smyr. 3.1). It is against this backdrop that Ignatius continues lambasting the same group by declaring:

Certain people ignorantly deny him, or rather have been denied by him, for they are advocates of death rather than the truth. Neither the prophecies nor the law of Moses have persuaded them, nor, thus far, the gospel nor our own individual sufferings. (Ign. Smyr. 5.1).

Here Ignatius does not refer to the “prophets” and “Moses”, but to “prophecies” and to “the law of Moses”. These dual referents both suggest written texts, namely the law and the writings of the prophets. It might, therefore, be natural to argue that the “gospel” is here conceived as a written text, which like the law and the writings of the prophets, Ignatius’ opponents fail to recognise or at least fail to interpret correctly. However, the fourth item in the list “our own individual sufferings” is clearly not a textual record but a group of events that testify to the non-receptivity of Ignatius’ opponents to his own Christological understanding.<sup>14</sup> As a counterpoint to the written records of the past, that is the prophecies and the law, the non-written testimonies of the contemporary period, the gospel and individual sufferings likewise fail to convince his opponents of the physical reality of the humanity of Christ.

The second reference to the gospel in the Letter to the Smyrnaeans is given as a corrective to the false teachings of the opponents. Such individuals are presented as heartless brutes with no concern for widows, orphans, the oppressed, prisoners, or the destitute. Much of this rhetoric is no doubt part of the polemical strategy of impugning the moral character of the opponents. They are also described as abstaining from the eucharist, which they are accused of failing to acknowledge as being the flesh of Christ (Ign. Smyr. 6.2). In order to protect oneself against these false opinions, Ignatius counsels his addressees “to pay attention to the prophets and especially the gospel. In which the passion has been made clear to us and the resurrection has been accomplished” (Ign. Smyr. 7.2). Here Ig-

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sition the more plausible one, it needs to be acknowledged that evidence is not quite as clear-cut as he implies.

<sup>14</sup> Thus Schoedel observes, “[t]he fact that he links the gospel and the sufferings of Christians so closely also suggests that nothing written is involved.” Schoedel, *Ignatius of Antioch* (n. 6), 234.

natius sees the prophetic message of the Jewish scriptures and the gospel as acting in concert to refute the views of his opponents, albeit that emphasis is placed on the gospel, ἐξαίρετως δὲ τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ. Again, this combination of prophets and the gospel may suggest that the latter is being used in the sense of a written testimony, especially with the construction that follows saying that it is in the gospel “in which the passion has been revealed to us” (Ign. Smyr. 7.2). If it were known that Ignatius were using the term “gospel” to refer to a written document, then saying the passion was revealed in it would be a natural expression. However, that expression can be construed equally naturally if the sense here aligns with the way the term is used previously in Ignatius’ letters to designate the message of the salvific events that occur in relation to the life of Jesus. Schoedel comes to the same conclusion when he states, “[a]gain, there is no reason to think that Ignatius is speaking of a written gospel.”<sup>15</sup>

Ignatius uses the term “gospel” on eight occasions only, six times in the Letter to the Philadelphians and twice in the Letter to the Smyrnaeans. The six occurrences in Philadelphians appear to present an understanding of the term εὐαγγέλιον as being Christian in-group language that refers to the message of the key soteriological events associated with Jesus, especially from Ignatius’ Christological perspective. The two occurrences of the term in Smyrnaeans are more ambiguous. The pairing of the term with references to the “prophecies and the law of Moses” (Ign. Smyr. 3.1), or just with “the prophets” (Ign. Smyr. 7.2) might suggest that the term “gospel” designated a written text. However, it appears more plausible to suggest that Ignatius is using the term in a manner consistent with his usage in Philadelphians, where it designated the salvific events associated with Christ. Therefore, Ignatius’ use of the term εὐαγγέλιον does not reveal that he knew any written documents under the title of “gospel.” Rather, in Ignatius’ day, the term εὐαγγέλιον formed part of the sociolect of early Christian communities and designated the proclaimed message concerning the salvific events that were associated with Jesus.

### **3 Credal Statements as Summaries of the Contents of Written Gospels**

It is well known that Ignatius’ letters contain a number of statements that have been labelled as being credal. Whether this designation is entirely accurate is a point for debate, and perhaps the designations “semi-credal” or “creed-like”

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15 Schoedel, *Ignatius of Antioch* (n. 6), 242.

might be more appropriate. However, what these summary statements do undoubtedly reveal is a knowledge of various key aspects of gospel narratives, albeit admittedly at times with a heavy theological overlay. Typically, scholars have identified five creed-like statements contained in four of the authentic letters of Ignatius.<sup>16</sup> It is helpful to set out these statements, both to view the points where they have repeated elements, and second to see if it is possible to discern any connection with one or more of the gospel accounts.

There is only one physician, who is both of flesh and spirit, both born and unborn, God in man, true life in death, both from Mary and from God; first subject to suffering and then beyond it, Jesus Christ our Lord. (Ign. Eph. 7.2).

For our God, Jesus the Christ, was conceived by Mary according to God's plan, both from the seed of David and of the Holy Spirit. He was born and baptized in order that by his suffering he may cleanse the water. (Ign. Eph. 18.2).

Be fully convinced about the birth and the suffering and the resurrection that took place during the time of the governorship of Pontius Pilate. (Ign. Mag. 11.1).

Jesus Christ, who was from the family David, who was the son of Mary; who really was born, who both ate and drank; who really was persecuted under Pontius Pilate, who really was crucified and died, while those in heaven and on earth and under the earth looked on; who, moreover, really was raised from the dead, when his Father raised him up. (Ign. Trall. 9.1–2).

He is truly of the family of David with respect to human descent, Son of God with respect to the divine will and power, truly born of a virgin, baptized by John in order that all righteousness might be fulfilled by him, truly nailed in the flesh for us under Pontius Pilate and Herod the tetrarch (Ign. Smyr. 1.1–2).

It is apparent, especially in their wider contexts, that these statements are frequently framed to rebuff the opinions of those who doubted the human existence of Jesus. Therefore, it must be acknowledged that these five statements are not neutral excerpts or compendia of details of the life of Jesus. Rather, they are ideological statements, robustly shaped by Ignatius' own context and theological conflicts. This results in a set of selective statements that are framed in such a manner as to serve Ignatius' polemical purposes.

Notwithstanding that important caveat, there are clear and significant details recounted that parallel similar narrative statements contained in the canonical gospels. At other times there are potential parallels to gospel material, but

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<sup>16</sup> These statements have been identified as semi-credal in nature by a number of commentators. See for instance Clayton N. Jefford, *Reading the Apostolic Fathers* (Grand Rapids: Baker 2012), 55.

the links are at best tenuous and at worst such links are only in the minds of later readers. The opening statement in the first semi-credal formulation provides an example of a weak, and perhaps non-intended parallel to gospel material. Ignatius declares Jesus to be the “only one physician” (Ign. Eph. 7.2). In the unique Lukan story concerning Jesus teaching in the synagogue at Capernaum, Jesus voices what he perceives to be in the minds of his audience: “No doubt you will quote this proverb to me, ‘Physician heal yourself.’” (Lk 4:23).<sup>17</sup> However, given the widespread use of the physician comparison to describe philosophers, its occurrence as a description of God as “the only physician of the soul’s infirmities” in contemporary Jewish writings (Philo, *Sacr.* 70), and the lack of verbal affinity with Lk 4:23 apart from the single term *iatrós* “physician”, it appears unwarranted to suggest this description derives from gospel tradition.

More productive is the way in which Ignatius recalls Jesus’ physical birth from Mary (Ign. Eph. 7.2; 18.2; Trall. 9.1–2; Smyr. 1.1–2). This is a recurrent and significant aspect of the statements Ignatius presents in response to his opponents. While Mary the mother of Jesus is named in Mark’s gospel in reference to Jesus being “the son of Mary” (Mk 6:3), and is referred to as “the mother of Jesus” in the fourth gospel (John 2:3; 19:25–27) there is little explicit reference to the birth of Jesus from Mary in those two accounts. Rather, such details are found in the infancy narratives of Matthew (Matt 1:18–2:12) and Luke (Lk 2:16–20). Moreover, when Ignatius describes Jesus as being “truly born of a virgin” (Ign. Smyr. 1.1), within the canonical gospel tradition this statement is paralleled in both Matthew (Matt 1:23) and Luke (Lk 1:27). However, it is impossible to determine whether Ignatius’ knowledge of this tradition is directly dependent upon either of the Matthean or Lukan account, or it is dependent on a tradition that originated in one of those gospels but circulated independently of the original context, or if it draws upon a tradition that fed into both gospels but came to Ignatius independently of either gospel. In fact given the dual descent described in Ign. Smyr. 1.1–2, Schoedel sees the closest parallel as being Paul’s statement in Romans that Christ was “descended of the seed of David according to the flesh, who was declared son of God with power, according to the spirit of holiness by the resurrection from the dead” (Rom 1:3–4).<sup>18</sup> Hence the Mary tradition, contained in the creed-like statements in Ignatius’ letters, does permit the iden-

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<sup>17</sup> The triple tradition also contains a maxim about physicians, “those who are well have no need of a physician, but those who are sick” (Matt 9:12; Mk 2:17; Lk 5:31). Here the saying is more general in nature and is not directly applied to Jesus himself. However, as Collins notes, there was a tradition in Greek philosophical texts where “the philosopher was often compared to the physician”, Adela Y. Collins, *Mark* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2007), 195.

<sup>18</sup> Schoedel, *Ignatius of Antioch* (n. 6), 221.

tification of a specific gospel tradition as the textual antecedent, or for that matter even that the tradition derives from the canonical gospels.

The Davidic descent of Jesus is also mentioned in three of the credal statements (Ign. Eph. 18.2; Trall. 9.1–2; Smyr. 1.1–2). The three formulations state respectively that Jesus was descended ἐκ σπέρματος μὲν Δαυεῖδ (Ign. Eph. 18.2); τις τοῦ ἐκ γένους Δαυεῖδ (Ign. Trall. 9.1); and ἀληθῶς ὄντα ἐκ γένους Δαυεῖδ κατὰ σάρκα (Ign. Smyr. 1.1). The references contained in Ign. Eph. 18.2 and Smyr. 1.1 seem to reflect elements that occur in Romans 1:3, with Ign. Eph. 18.2 sharing the ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυεῖδ (Rom 1:3) and Ign. Smyr. 1.1 sharing the κατὰ σάρκα terminology (cf. Rom 1:3). In both cases these fragments show affinities with Rom 1:3 rather than with gospel traditions, but they fall short of conclusively demonstrating direct literary dependence. Although Matthew's Gospel has a particular interest in portraying Jesus as a descendant of David, Ignatius does not pick up any of the distinctive Matthean language in relation to Jesus' Davidic ancestry. This theme is signaled from the very outset of Matthew's Gospel (Matt 1:1), where the evangelist seeks to communicate Jesus' royal pedigree and messianic identity. As France notes, "Matthew is aiming to present an account ... of the long-awaited deliver of God's people Israel."<sup>19</sup> Jesus' Davidic descent is a recurrent feature in the first gospel, and the evangelist emphasizes this aspect of Jesus' identity to a greater extent than any other of the evangelists.<sup>20</sup> Davies and Allison suggest that "[t]his probably reflects an ongoing dialogue with the synagogue, which looked for the arrival of ben Dāwid."<sup>21</sup> The fact that Ignatius does not employ similar references to Jesus' Davidic ancestry may not demonstrate a lack of knowledge of the first gospel, but rather that the social tensions reflected in Matthew's gospel were not as acute for Ignatius in his own context.<sup>22</sup>

Three of these creed-like statements also mention Jesus' death "during the time of the governorship of Pontius Pilate" (Ign. Mag. 11.1), or "under Pontius Pilate" (Ign. Trall. 9.1–2), or "under Pontius Pilate and Herod the tetrarch" (Ign. Smyr. 1.1–2). In the first of these references Ignatius uses the following Greek for-

<sup>19</sup> Richard T. France, *The Gospel of Matthew* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 2007), 25.

<sup>20</sup> Matthew employs the terminology "Son of David" on nine occasions: Matt 1:1, 20; 9:27; 12:23; 15:22; 20:30, 31; 21:9, 15.

<sup>21</sup> William D. Davies and Dale C. Allison, *The Gospel According to Saint Matthew* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1988), 156.

<sup>22</sup> Tuckett notes that even in Matthew's account the appeal to Jesus as "son of David" is not an unproblematic designation, since "for Matthew, Jesus fulfils the hopes for a Davidic king in a surprising and unexpected way, a way which leads to opposition and rejection by the Jewish leaders." Christopher M. Tuckett, *Christology and the New Testament: Jesus and his Earliest Followers* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 2001), 125.



mulation, ἐν καιρῷ τῆς ἡγεμονίας Ποντίου Πιλάτου (Ign. Mag. 11.1). The reference to Pontius Pilate reflects Ignatius' standard nomenclature, whereby he consistently employs the double name. In Passion Narrative accounts contained in the canonical gospels, Matthew alone uses this double referent, but only on one occasion (Matt 27:2). The name Pontius Pilate occurs once more in the gospels, that being in Luke's chronological statement where the commencement of the ministry of John the Baptist is described as being "in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Caesar, when Pontius Pilate was governor of Judaea, and Herod was tetrarch of Galilee [...]" (Lk 3:1).<sup>23</sup> The text contained in Magnesians also refers to events taking place during "the governorship," τῆς ἡγεμονίας, of Pilate. The feminine abstract noun ἡγεμονία describes the "leadership", "rule" or "governorship", of a political or other office bearer. This noun is used in the Lukan passage to describe the rule of Pilate (Lk 3:1). Matthew employs the related masculine noun ἡγεμών to denote the title of the office holder, "governor." These parallels between the title and double name that occur between Ignatius' writings and the traditions in Matt 27:2 and Lk 3:1 do not, however, permit any conclusions concerning direct literary dependence. There is one further interesting point of contact between the details contained Ignatius' creed-like statements and the gospel tradition. Ignatius includes among the dramatis personae "Herod the tetrarch" as one of the political leaders in power at the time of Jesus' crucifixion. Among the canonical gospels, Herod the tetrarch is mentioned in the context of the Passion Narrative only in Luke's account (Lk 23:6–12).<sup>24</sup> However, Luke refers to the ruler of Galilee simply as "Herod" in this pericope, having already used the title "tetrarch" at the beginning of his gospel (Lk 3:1, 19). Again, any inference concerning a direct literary connection between the writings of Ignatius and Luke's gospel is not sustainable on the basis of this shared reference to Herod Antipas in connection with the passion. However, what it does illustrate is Ignatius' wider knowledge of details of the story of the death of Jesus. This may suggest, perhaps unsurprisingly, that the details of an account of death were common knowledge in early Christian circles.

Consideration of the five creed-like statements contained in Ignatius' letters have not permitted conclusive evidence that Ignatius knew and used any partic-

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**23** There are two other occasions in the New Testament where the double name occurs, Acts 4:27 and 1 Tim 6:13.

**24** There is debate as to whether this incident is a Lukan redactional creation, or whether it originates in traditional material which Luke would have reworked. This otherwise unparalleled scene among the canonical gospels may have been included to emphasize the innocence of Jesus through the dual testimony of Pilate and Herod Antipas. See Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke X-XXIV* (New York: Doubleday, 1983), 1478–80.

ular one of the canonical gospels. Details of Jesus' conception and birth by Mary, and references to his Davidic decent are reminiscent of the stories contained in the infancy accounts contained in Matthew and Luke. However, the Pauline letters, especially in Rom 1:3, contain similar if not more closely related traditions concerning Davidic lineage. In the same vein, references to events surrounding Jesus' death during the time of Pontius Pilate and Herod the tetrarch utilize phraseology more closely related to the Matthean and Lukan accounts, but the level of similarity falls far short of that required to establish the direct literary dependence of Ignatius' statements upon traditions contained in either the gospels of Matthew or Luke.

## 4 Individual Statements in Ignatius's Letters with Parallels in the Canonical Gospels

The standard method for determining Ignatius' use of a specific gospel has been by tracing specific parallel traditions where there are shared phrases or ideas. The classic study which investigated the use of the New Testament in the corpus of writings labelled as the Apostolic Fathers contained a specific investigation of the letters of Ignatius.<sup>25</sup> The precise criteria for determining literary dependency upon a specific New Testament text were not explicitly described. Judgments, however, appear to have been based on the level of terminological correspondence and the volume of parallels detected between the letters of Ignatius and individual canonical gospels. A fundamental problem with determining dependence on a specific gospel text is that the canonical gospels not only contain many parallels among themselves, but that the literary interrelationship of the synoptic gospels is an almost universally accepted hypothesis in New Testament scholarship regardless of the specific solution to the synoptic problem that is adopted. This means it is often difficult, if not impossible, to determine which specific gospel is the source for a parallel in a later writing when there is high level verbatim agreement among the synoptic gospels themselves.

This impasse in determining the relationship of the writings of Ignatius to a specific gospel text was broken by the methodological criterion proposed by Helmut Köster. In effect, he proposed determining redactional material that was unparalleled in the canonical gospel text, and looking for evidence of its reproduction in the later work, here the Epistles of Ignatius. Köster stated this simple but

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<sup>25</sup> William R. Inge, "Ignatius," in *The New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers*, ed. Oxford Society of Historical Theology (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1905), 61–83.

incisive insight in the following succinct form: “so hängt die Frage der Benutzung davon ab, ob sich in den angeführten Stücken Redaktionsarbeit eines Evangelisten findet.”<sup>26</sup> There is no doubt that this results in an extremely rigorous approach, which might exclude a number of potential parallels. However, without redactional material present it is not possible to come to a firm conclusion concerning which one of the synoptic gospels an Ignatian parallel might be utilising.

Although Köster rejects Ignatius’ use of Matthew’s gospel, there is one highly significant example where Ignatius reproduces an element of Matthean tradition that is unique to the first gospel, and must therefore be classified as an unparalleled Matthean redactional element. The detail in question is Matthew’s additional comment in the story of Jesus’ baptism where Jesus informs John that he should undergo baptism in order that they might “fulfil all righteousness” (Matt 3:15). A parallel with that tradition occurs in Ignatius’ Letter to the Smyrnaeans, where he states that Jesus received baptism “in order that all righteousness might be fulfilled by him” (Ign. Smyr. 1.1).

Ign. Smyr. 1.1	Matt 3:15
ἵνα πληρωθῇ πᾶσα δικαιοσύνη ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ.	οὕτως γὰρ πρέπον ἐστὶν ἡμῖν πληρῶσαι πᾶσαν δικαιοσύνην. τότε ἀφίψιν αὐτόν.

Although in Ignatius text the verb πληρώω occurs in the subjunctive mood rather than the infinitive form found in Matthew, and the phrase “all righteousness” is in the nominative case in Ignatius rather than the accusative case as it occurs in Matthew, this appears to be a strong case for demonstrating Ignatius’ dependence on the form of the tradition as it occurs in Matthew. First, there is a string of three shared lexical items. Admittedly, in isolation none of terms is particularly rare. However, the combination of all three in the same order without any intervening words is striking. Second, in both Matthew and Ignatius this phrase is explicitly used in connection with Jesus baptism by John, and in both accounts John is a named character. Third, the term δικαιοσύνη is a Matthean redactional favourite, being employed by the evangelist on seven occasions.<sup>27</sup> By contrast,

<sup>26</sup> Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung bei den Apostolischen Vätern* (n. 2), 3. A translation of this statement is, “so the question of use depends on whether there is redactional work of an evangelist in the cited passage.”

<sup>27</sup> The term δικαιοσύνη occurs in Matt 3:15; 5:6, 10, 20; 6:1, 33; 21:32. Each one of these seven occurrences is unique to Matthew and unparalleled in the other canonical gospels. For a study of the significance of Matthew’s righteousness language see Benno Przybylski, *Righteousness in Matthew and His World of Thought* (Cambridge: CUP, 1980).

Ignatius uses the term only once, which is in this context.<sup>28</sup> Therefore, it is unlikely that Ignatius would have introduced this term independently of Matthew, a term which he employs nowhere else. The alternative to dependence would require Ignatius to have coincidentally selected the same term, and yet to have deployed it identically in one of the seven places where Matthew uses the term.

Notwithstanding this strong example where there is a demonstrable verbal parallel between Ignatius' text and material that is a redactional addition in the Matthean account, some scholars have been unpersuaded that this demonstrates Ignatius' dependence on Matthew. Most strikingly, Helmut Köster rejected what seemed to be the logical consequence of applying his own test of dependency on unique redactional material found in the canonical gospels. Instead of drawing the most natural conclusion, that Ignatius is dependent on Matthew's Gospel at this point, Köster problematized this example in the following manner:

Ich möchte eher annehmen, daß Ign. den sich mit Mt. 3,15 berührenden Passus bereits innerhalb der von ihm Sm. 1,1 wiedergegebenen kerygmatischen Formel übernahm. Der fragliche Passus wäre dann schon vor Ign. aus Mt. in diese Formel eingedrungen. Auch Sm. 1,1 könnte also die direkte Abhängigkeit des Ign. von Mt. nicht erweisen, setzt aber die Existenz des Mt. Evangeliums indirekt voraus.<sup>29</sup>

Such possibilities are not beyond the limits of probability. However, this scenario is not the most obvious explanation. Moreover, when Köster proposes that Ignatius took over a kerygmatic tradition as the basis of Smyr. 1.1, and within this was already embedded the Matthean phrase concerning the fulfilment of all righteousness, one is left with the sense that for Köster any explanation is to be preferred over the more natural suggestion that Ignatius had direct knowledge of the Gospel of Matthew, at least at this point, and reproduced a parallel to the redactional phrase that is found in the baptismal account of the first gospel. Köster's redactional test for dependency on one of the canonical gospels has been observed to be exceptionally stringent. Thus as Gregory notes, "Koester's weakness may be that his criterion makes it virtually impossible to demonstrate any dependence on a Synoptic Gospel except in passages where the redactional activity

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<sup>28</sup> While Ignatius uses the term δικαιοσύνη only in Ign. Smyr. 1.1, it does occur in several of the other writings contained in the Apostolic Fathers corpus: 1 *Clement* – 13 times; 2 *Clement* – 8 times; *Epistle of Barnabas* – 9 times; *Epistle of Diognetus* – 4 times; Polycarp, *Philippians* – 8 times; *Shepherd of Hermas* – 33 times; *Didache* – twice. This shows that the term was still in wide use in the second century as part of the Christian sociolect. It is therefore even more striking that apart from the single use of the term in Ign. Smyr. 1.1 (which appear to be dependent on use of Matt 3:15), that Ignatius does not use these term to any significant extent.

<sup>29</sup> Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung bei den Apostolischen Vätern* (n. 2), 59.

of an evangelist may be readily identified.”<sup>30</sup> What is perhaps more troubling is that while acknowledging that the test requires an extremely high level of evidence, when parallels of the type required by Köster appear to have been identified, “these can also be excluded because it is possible to theorise other pathways by which such distinctive phraseology of the evangelist may have come to the later writer apart from that of direct literary dependence on one of the four canonical gospels.”<sup>31</sup>

Before leaving the discussion of this highly significant example it is worth considering other ways in which it has been handled by those who do not consider it as providing evidence of Ignatius’ dependence on Matthew. Smit Sibinga offers an intriguing argument based on a third version of this tradition. He notes a passage in the Gospel of the Ebionites that aligns with references in Matt 3:15 and Ign. Smyr. 1.1.

ἄφες, ὅτι οὕτως ἐστὶ πρέπον πληρωθῆναι πάντα

Evang. Ebion. (Epiphanius, Panarion haer. 30.13.7–8).

From this parallel Smit Sibinga suggests that, “At this point it is Matthew who parts from the common source, not Ignatius or his credal formula.”<sup>32</sup> Sibinga implies that the Gospel of the Ebionites and Ignatius’ Letter to the Smyrnaeans stand in closer verbal agreement. Hence, those two texts, which for Sibinga do not draw on one another, therefore draw on a common credal source. Matthew likewise depends on the same source, but alters it in a more radical way than either is the case with the Gospel of the Ebionites or Ignatius’ Letter to the Smyrnaeans. Elsewhere a fuller refutation of this argument has been provided.<sup>33</sup> The most pertinent point to make is that the general premise that the Gospel of the Ebionites and Ignatius’ Letter to the Smyrnaeans stand in closer verbal agreement is simply wrong. Perhaps the key observation that negates Sibinga’s contention is the fact that both Ignatius and Matthew share the term δικαιοσύνη against Ebionites. Furthermore, his contention that that “the wording in Ignatius

<sup>30</sup> Andrew F. Gregory, “What constitutes the use of the NT in the AF? Reflections on Method”, in *The Reception of the New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers*, ed. Andrew F. Gregory and Christopher M. Tuckett (Oxford: OUP, 2005), 14.

<sup>31</sup> Paul Foster, “The Epistles of Ignatius of Antioch and the Writings that later formed the New Testament”, in *The Reception of the New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers*, ed. Andrew F. Gregory and Christopher M. Tuckett (Oxford: OUP, 2005), 175.

<sup>32</sup> Smit Sibinga, “Ignatius and Matthew,” *NovT* 8 (1966): 263–283, here 277.

<sup>33</sup> Foster, “The Epistles of Ignatius of Antioch and the Writings that later formed the New Testament” (n. 31), 176.

which uses the passive voice of πληροῦν is less likely to be secondary than that in Matthew, who employs the active voice,” does not follow. It is motivated by the observation that both Ignatius and Ebionites employ passive forms, and that this places Ignatius and Ebionites in closer literary relationship than that between Ignatius and Matthew. However, the passive forms of πληρόω are not identical. One could counter Sibinga’s argument by observing that both Matthew and Ebionites use infinitive forms of πληρόω, and that places those texts in closer connection than either is to the tradition in Ignatius. Yet, perhaps the strongest argument arises from the historical circumstances that would be required for Sibinga’s argument to work. Epiphanius’ Panarion was written between 374 and 377 C.E. At this stage the Gospel of Matthew was well known and in wide circulation. By contrast, there is no extant evidence in support of the credal formula or document that Sibinga requires for his theory. That does not automatically prove such a document did not exist. However, it seems less likely that such a document surviving unattested for more than two and half centuries between the writing of Smyrnaeans and the composition of the Panarion, exerted sufficient influence to shape the wording of the Panarion in place of the almost ubiquitous presence of the Gospel of Matthew in fourth century Christianity.

Therefore despite the ingenious suggestions of Köster, Sibinga, and others,<sup>34</sup> this parallel presents a strong case for arguing for Ignatius’ dependence on the Gospel of Matthew at this point. Ignatius does not replicate the Matthean tradition exactly. That is hardly surprising. Given Ignatius’ physical circumstances, “being bound to ten leopards, I mean a band of soldiers” (Ign. Rom. 5.1), it is unlikely that he had access to a physical copy of the Gospel of Matthew while en route to Rome. Moreover, the wording of Matt 3:15 had to be reworded slightly to fit the context in which Ignatius was deploying this tradition. So on balance the tradition in Smyr. 1.1 most plausibly appears to demonstrate Ignatius’ knowledge of the Gospel of Matthew, although he was probably drawing on the Matthean tradition from memory while he composed his Letter to the Smyrnaeans.

Having identified a case where it appears that Ignatius drew on a redactional detail found in Matthew’s Gospel, it is worthwhile to see if there are other potential instances in the Ignatian corpus where dependence on the first gospel might occur. Another case where there may be dependent on a uniquely Matthean saying occurs with the twofold parallel between Matt 15:13 with both Ign. Trall. 11.1 and Ign. Philad. 3.1. The parallel is as follows:

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<sup>34</sup> Donald A. Hagner, “The Sayings of Jesus in the Apostolic Fathers and Justin Martyr”, in *Gospel Perspectives: The Jesus Tradition Outside the Gospels*, vol. 5, ed. David Wenham (Trowbridge: JSOT Press, 1984), 233–68.

Ign. Trall. 11.1 and Ign. Philad. 3.1	Matt 15:13
οὗτοι γὰρ οὐκ εἰσιν φυτεῖα πατρός. (Ign. Trall. 11.1) Ἀπέχεσθε τῶν κακῶν βοτανῶν ἅστινας οὐ γεωργεῖ Ἰησοῦς Χριστός διὰ τὸ μὴ εἶναι αὐτοὺς φυτεῖαν πατρός. (Ign. Philad. 3.1)	ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν· πᾶσα φυτεῖα ἣν οὐκ ἐφύτευσεν ὁ πατήρ μου ὁ οὐράνιος ἐκριζωθήσεται.

Again, this Matthean tradition is unparalleled in any other of the canonical gospels. Therefore, this Matthean saying can be classed as single-tradition or *Sondergut* material belonging to the first evangelist. However, it needs to be recognised that this may be a different class of redactional work, in comparison with the previous example. The tradition in Matt 3:15 contained favourite terminology of the first evangelist, such as the terms πληρῶσαι and δικαιοσύνην, and thus the saying was likely to be a redactional creation on the part of the evangelist. By contrast, the vocabulary in Matt 15:13 is not prominently Matthean (perhaps with the exception of ὁ πατήρ μου ὁ οὐράνιος).<sup>35</sup> Consequently, Matthew's redactional contribution may have been to incorporate and to modify an existing free-floating tradition, rather than the wholesale creation of a new saying. However, it is redactional in the sense that Matthew selected this tradition which is unparalleled in the other synoptic accounts and deployed it in his own gospel narrative.

In contrast to the previous example, the verbal parallels are neither as strong nor as striking. All three passages speak of plants (or planting) that do not belong to the Father. This is a memorable metaphor, and because of that it could have originated in the oral tradition of the early Jesus movement, or if it were coined by the first evangelist it could have taken on an independent life of its own after its origin in the first gospel. If the previous example is deemed compelling, then Ignatius' demonstrable use of the first gospel in relation to Matt 3:15 may further raise the likelihood that this tradition is also drawn from that source. However, certainty is not possible. Thus Köster offers the following explanation: "Vielleicht stammt auch die Metapher Mt. 15, 13 aus dem gnostischen Raum. Doch das ist unsicher; die etwa zugrunde liegende mythologische Vorstellung tritt jedenfalls bei Mt. bei weitem nicht mehr so lebendig zu Tage wie bei Ign."<sup>36</sup> Others are more persuaded that this parallel has sufficient strength to permit the conclusion that in these two examples Ignatius is dependent on

<sup>35</sup> Foster, "The Epistles of Ignatius of Antioch and the Writings that later formed the New Testament" (n.31), 177.

<sup>36</sup> Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung bei den Apostolischen Vätern* (n. 2), 38.

Matt 15:13.<sup>37</sup> In relation to the use of Matt 15:13 by Ignatius, Massaux confidently states, “[t]ogether with most commentators, I believe this text is a reflection of and exhibits a literary dependence on Mt. 15:13 [...] of the evangelists only Mt. recalls this saying of Christ.”<sup>38</sup> However, it needs to be recognized that the verbal parallel involves only two shared words. Hence, this is an extremely slender evidential basis on which to advance such certain conclusions.

Consequently, the evidence seems to require a more open conclusion. Given that elsewhere Ignatius appears to have employed traditions from Matthew’s Gospel that increases the probability that his common use of the metaphor concerning plants not belonging to the Father might be drawn from the first gospel. However, the hard evidence of the verbatim parallel is weak, comprising only two shared words. This could be due to the phraseology being part of the wider shared early Christian sociolect, or even due to chance. Therefore, at best, this example might be used in corroboration with the evidence from other cases, but it is impossible to infer anything of consequence from this parallel on their own.

A much clearer parallel between the writings of Ignatius and the gospel tradition is to be found with the serpents and doves saying. In this case there is extended verbal correspondence between the version of the saying in Ign. Poly. 2.2 and Matt 10:16b.

Ign. Poly. 2.2	Matt 10:16b
φρόνιμος γίνου ὡς ὁ ὄφις ἐν ἅπασιν καὶ ἀκέραιος εἰς αἶν ὡς ἡ περιστέρα.	γίνεσθε οὖν φρόνιμοι ὡς οἱ ὄφεις καὶ ἀκέραιοι ὡς αἱ περιστέρας.

Again, the serpents and doves saying is a tradition that in the canonical gospels occurs only in Matthew. While Ignatius presents a form of the saying that in distinction to the Matthean version refers to “a serpent” and “a dove” in the singular as opposed to Matthew’s plural forms, given the high level of verbal and terminological correspondence there is no doubt that these two sayings represent parallel forms of a single tradition. What prevents this from being as clear an example as the first case for demonstrating Ignatius’ dependence on Matthew’s gospel is the existence of another version of the this tradition that occurs

<sup>37</sup> See for instance the opinion of Wolf D. Köhler, *Die Rezeption des Matthäusevangeliums in der Zeit vor Irenäus* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1987), 80.

<sup>38</sup> Édouard Massaux, *The Influence of the Gospel of Saint Matthew on Christian Literature before Saint Irenaeus*, Book 1: The First Ecclesiastical Writers (NGS 5/1, Eng. trans., Macon: Mercer Univ. Press, 1990), esp. 85–122, here 88.



“both in the Greek fragments of the Gospel of Thomas, and is also more fully evidenced in the later Coptic text discovered at Nag Hammadi.”<sup>39</sup> The fragmentary Greek text is preserved in P.Oxy. 655, and was first published by Grenfell and Hunt.<sup>40</sup> The Coptic version of the tradition can helpfully be employed to reconstruct the underlying Greek saying where P.Oxy. 655 is defective. This can then be compared with the synoptic tradition as it occurs in Matt 10:16b.

P.Oxy. 655 (lines 47–49)	Matt 10:16b
ὁμεις[ δὲ γίν[εσθε φρόνι]μοι ὡ[ς οἱ ὄφεις καὶ ἀκέραιοι ὡς αἱ περιστ[ε]ραί[ι]	γίνεσθε οὖν φρόνιμοι ὡς οἱ ὄφεις καὶ ἀκέραιοι ὡς αἱ περιστ[ε]ραί.

Based on this parallel, and a partial parallel found in a citation of the Gospel of the Nazarenes (Gos. Naz. 7)<sup>41</sup> which is perhaps better described more generally as a Jewish Gospel<sup>42</sup> that reads “more than serpents”, Quispel<sup>43</sup> and also DeConick<sup>44</sup> suggest the source for the Gospel of Thomas “is a Jewish Christian Gospel.” If that view were correct, then it would open the possibility that Ignatius was not dependent upon Matthew for the serpent and dove saying found in Ign. Poly. 2.2, but that he may have drawn it either from a free-floating tradition that fed into the Jewish Gospel, or if the Gospel of Thomas was composed prior to 70 C.E. as some have argued, then the writings of Ignatius and the Gospel of Matthew could be separately dependent upon Thomas for this saying.

39 Foster, “The Epistles of Ignatius of Antioch and the Writings that later formed the New Testament” (n. 31), 178.

40 Bernard P. Grenfell and Arthur S. Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Part 4 (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1904). The discussion of P.Oxy. 655 is contained on pages 22–28, with the relevant plate for the section under discussion being Plate 2 (column two being seen at the top of the page of the book, just below to the right of the heading). The reconstruction of the relevant lines is:

ΔΕΓΑΡ[  
ΜΟΙΩ[  
ΚΕΡΑΙ[

41 Here following the classification and numbering contained in “Jewish-Christian Gospels”, ed. Philipp Vielhauer and Georg Strecker, in *New Testament Apocrypha*, volume one: Gospels and Related Writings, ed. Wilhelm Schneemelcher; rev. ed.; Louisville (WJK, 1991), 160.

42 Jörg Frey, “Die Textvarianten nach dem ‘Jüdischen Evangelium’”, in *Antike christliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung*, I. Band: Evangelien und Verwandtes, Teilband 1, ed. Cristoph Marksches und Jens Schröter (Tubingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 659, frag. 4.

43 Gilles Quispel, “The Gospel of Thomas Revisited”, in *Colloque International sur les Textes de Nag Hammadi*, ed. B. Barq (Louvain: Peeters, 1981), 218–265, here 265.

44 April D. DeConick, *The Original Gospel of Thomas in Translation: With a Commentary and New English Translation of the Complete Gospel* (London: T&T Clark, 2006), 160.

While there is no consensus on the date of the Gospel of Thomas two recent studies have independently argued that Thomas is dependent on the canonical gospels, and is best dated to the second century. Goodacre emphasizes the precarious task of attempting to date many surviving ancient documents. He does, however, find evidence on the basis of Gos.Thom. 68 for a post Bar Kochba date. Thus he concludes:

The dating of the Gospel of Thomas to the 140s makes good sense of a book that witnesses to the destruction of the temple (Thom. 71) and apparently presupposes the Bar Kochba revolt (Thom. 68), indications that cohere with the works familiarity with the Synoptic Gospels, all of which themselves appear to postdate 70.<sup>45</sup>

Goodacre is not alone in dating Thomas to the middle of the second century and seeing it as dependent upon the synoptic gospels. Gathercole likewise sees saying 71 as significant for dating, and comes to the conclusion that the best fit for Thomas is some time after 135 and some time before 200 C.E.”<sup>46</sup> In terms of the use of the synoptics by Thomas, Gathercole concludes, “[t]here is in Thomas what one might term ‘significant’ influence identifiable from Matthew and Luke.”<sup>47</sup> The arguments for these conclusions concerning a mid-second century date and the use of Matthew and Luke by Thomas appear to be the most plausible conclusions.

Therefore, it is unlikely that the serpent and dove saying of Gos. Thom. 39 represents an independent non-synoptic version of this tradition, which in turn Ignatius could be utilising rather than being dependent on Matt 10:16b. Interestingly, Gathercole does not consider Gos. Thom. 39 as a case where there is conclusive evidence for the dependence of Thomas on Matthew. This is because he considers the saying as a whole. The first two sections of the saying parallel double tradition material (Matt 23:13//Lk 11:52), and the unique use of specifically Matthew, Luke, or even Q cannot be determined. However, with the serpent and dove saying of Gos. Thom. 39.3, among the synoptic gospels this tradition occurs only in Matthew, and this suggests dependence on the Matt 10:16b. Consequently, having excluding Thomas as a factor in the relationship between Ign. Poly. 2.2 and the serpents and doves tradition, this establishes a strong case for

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<sup>45</sup> Mark S. Goodacre, *Thomas and the Gospels: The making of an apocryphal text* (London: SPCK, 2012), 171.

<sup>46</sup> Simon Gathercole, *The Gospel of Thomas: Introduction and Commentary* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 124.

<sup>47</sup> Simon Gathercole, *The Composition of the Gospel of Thomas: Original Language and Influences* (Cambridge: CUP, 2012), 223.

seeing Ignatius as dependent on the uniquely Matthean element, found in Matt 10:16b.

Two of the examples considered here seem to offer strong support to the view that Ignatius knew the Gospel of Matthew, and that he drew upon its contents. Both the parallel to Matt 3:15 in Ign. Smyr. 1.1 and the parallel between Matt 10:16b in Ign. Poly. 2.2 constitute examples where traditions otherwise unattested in the canonical gospel material are paralleled in the writings of Ignatius. Therefore, these two examples satisfy the demanding criterion articulated by Helmut Köster,<sup>48</sup> that given the replication of traditions within the synoptic tradition it is only possible to declare a later text dependent on gospel material if that tradition is unique to a specific evangelist. There is a corollary to this finding, which Köster does not state. This is a weaker hypothesis, namely that if a tradition multiply attested in the canonical gospel material, but that only one of the gospels that preserves that tradition also contributes a clear example of redactional material being replicated in the later document, then it is more likely that the multiply attested tradition is also drawn from the same gospel which was the source for the redactional tradition derived from a unique gospel source.

In relation to Mark and Luke, the case for Ignatius' knowledge of either document is extremely weak. Inge presented two very slight parallels to Mark<sup>49</sup> and three weak parallels to Luke.<sup>50</sup> However, given the weak verbal parallels that exist in these cases, none of these examples presents a plausible possibility of dependence. There are two further cases where a saying in the writings of Ignatius parallels material from the synoptic double tradition shared by Matthew and Luke. The first case is a further example where the verbal correspondence is relatively weak.

Ign. Eph. 11.1	Matt 3:7//Lk 3:7 (identical wording)
ἡ γὰρ τὴν μέλλουσαν ὀργὴν φοβηθῶμεν.	γεννήματα ἐχιδνῶν, τίς ὑπέδειξεν ὑμῖν φυγεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς μελλούσης ὀργῆς;

The shared wording comprises a three-word phrase, albeit in the accusative and genitive cases respectively τὴν μέλλουσαν ὀργήν (Ign. Eph. 11.1)//τῆς μελλούσης

<sup>48</sup> Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung bei den Apostolischen Vätern* (n. 2), 3.

<sup>49</sup> Ign. Eph. 16.1//Mk 9:43; Ign. Smyr. 10.2//Mk 8:38. W.R. Inge, "Ignatius" (n. 25), 61–83, here 79.

<sup>50</sup> Ign. Smyr. 1.2//Lk 23:7–12; Ign. Smyr. 3.2// Lk 24:39; Ign. Smyr. 10.2//Lk 9:26. Inge, "Ignatius" (n. 25), 79–80.

ὀργῆς (Matt 3:7//Lk 3:7). However, one of these words is the definite article, and the other two words that refer to the “coming wrath” are not so definitive that the idea could only have been derived from this gospel tradition (cf. Rom. 1:18, 2:5; Eph. 5:6; Col. 3:6; 1 Thess. 1:10; 2:16). If Ignatius were dependent on the synoptic gospel tradition at this point one might be more likely to favour dependence upon Matthew, since there are no clear examples of taking traditions over from Luke. However, the more probable conclusion is that Ignatius is not dependent on gospel tradition at this point and that the shared three-word phrase in Ign. Eph. 11.1 is either coincidental, or more likely is reflective of the wider early Christian sociolect.

The second example where Ignatius presents a parallel to double tradition material is perhaps slightly stronger. The parallel sayings declare that a tree will be known or made manifest from its fruit.

Ign. Eph. 14.2	Matt 12:33b//Lk 6:44a
φανερὸν τὸ δένδρον ἀπὸ τοῦ καρποῦ αὐτοῦ.	ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ καρποῦ τὸ δένδρον γινώσκεται. // ἕκαστον γὰρ δένδρον ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου καρποῦ γινώσκεται.

Ignatius shares the terms τὸ δένδρον and τοῦ καρποῦ with the double tradition contained in synoptic parallel. Again, these are not the most striking terms, but their combination in close context with conceptually related terms φανερόν or γινώσκεται, may suggest that at some level these traditions are related. One possibility is that the commonality is due to some level of shared oral tradition.<sup>51</sup> Alternatively, Ignatius may depend in some way on a common source that underlies Matthew and Luke at this point.<sup>52</sup>

There has been more debate concerning Ignatius’ knowledge and use of the Gospel of John. Inge concluded that “Ignatius’s use of the Fourth Gospel is highly probable, but falls some way short of certainty.”<sup>53</sup> However, he immediately qualifies this statement by noting possible objections, significantly including “[t]he paucity of phrases which recall the language of the Gospel, and the absence of direct appeals to it.”<sup>54</sup> These two factors constitute important factors when determining Ignatius’ possible use of the fourth gospel.

<sup>51</sup> Thus Inge states, “the words have the look of a current saying of Christ”. Inge, “Ignatius” (n. 25), 80.

<sup>52</sup> Foster, “The Epistles of Ignatius of Antioch and the Writings that later formed the New Testament” (n. 31), 182.

<sup>53</sup> Inge, “Ignatius” (n. 25), 83.

<sup>54</sup> Inge, “Ignatius” (n. 25), 83.

More recently Charles Hill has defended a similar view, coming to the conclusion “Ignatius was quite familiar with the Fourth Gospel, despite the lack of any full or exact quotations.”<sup>55</sup> Again, any decision on Ignatius’ use of the Gospel of John depends on two factors. First, the strength of any proposed parallels, and secondly, what level of evidence one deems conclusive for establishing a case for use and dependency. By way of illustration it is worth considering the two examples that Inge determined as the strongest parallels with the fourth gospel. These two examples are also discussed at length by Hill (along with several other of Inge’s lesser examples).

In the first parallel the key shared idea is the concept of “living water”, although both Inge and Hill find further Johannine echoes.

Ign. Rom. 7.2	John 4:10, 14
οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν ἐμοὶ πῦρ φιλόυλον ὕδωρ δὲ ζῶν καὶ λαλοῦν ἐν ἐμοὶ ἔσωθεν μοι λέγον Δεῦρο πρὸς τὸν πατέρα.	σὺ ἂν ἤτησας αὐτὸν καὶ ἔδωκεν ἅν σοι ὕδωρ ζῶν ... τὸ ὕδωρ ὃ δώσω αὐτῷ γενήσεται ἐν αὐτῷ πηγὴ ὕδατος ἀλλομένου εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον

The verbal similarity of Ignatius’ phrase ὕδωρ δὲ ζῶν καὶ λαλοῦν and that in the fourth gospel, ὕδωρ ζῶν (John 4.10), is immediately apparent. However, there are also striking differences. Ignatius has a multifaceted metaphor that speaks of “living and speaking water” whereas the fourth gospel mentions only “living water.” Ignatius’ metaphor occurs in the context of reflection on his impending martyrdom and his mortification of earthly passions. By contrast, the fourth evangelist has Jesus use the phrase in conversation with the Samaritan women to illustrate the abundance of the gift of God. It is also possible that the verbal snippet “living water”, regardless of its precise origin could have circulated independently of its original context and come to Ignatius a free-floating example of early Christian speech.

Hill adduces further contact between Ignatius and John at this point. He argues that the phrase “come to the Father” that concludes Ign. Rom. 7.2 “has quite plausible links to John, where several times there is a reference to Jesus going πρὸς τὸν πατέρα (14:12, 28; 16:17; 20:17), and once there is the unique claim that “no one come to the Father except through me” (οὐδεὶς ἔρχεται πρὸς τὸν πατέρα εἰ μὴ δι’ ἐμοῦ, 14:6).”<sup>56</sup> Hill also notes that the phrase “bread of God” contained in Ignatius’ following statement (Ign. Rom. 7.3) is found only in John 6:33

55 Charles E. Hill, *The Johannine Corpus in the Early Church* (Oxford: OUP, 2004), 440.

56 Hill, *The Johannine Corpus in the Early Church* (n. 55), 433.

in the New Testament. While that is true, given the liturgical circulation of eucharistic language and Ignatius' own concern with eucharistic ideas and with the fleshly reality of Christ's existence, such a coincidence in a two-word phrase is not a firm indicator of dependence on the fourth gospel.

The second key examples listed by Inge and replicated by Hill, concerns the movement of τὸ πνεῦμα. This term has been left untranslated because the fourth evangelist utilises the double meaning of this term as "wind" and as "spirit" in Jesus' dialogue with Nicodemus (John 3:8).

Ign. Phld. 7.1	John 3:8
τὸ πνεῦμα οὐ πλανᾶται ἀπὸ θεοῦ ὃν οἶδεν γὰρ πόθεν ἔρχεται καὶ ποῦ ὑπάγει καὶ τὰ κρυπτὰ ἐλέγχει.	τὸ πνεῦμα ὅπου θέλει πνεῖ καὶ τὴν φωνὴν αὐτοῦ ἀκούεις, ἀλλ' οὐκ οἶδας πόθεν ἔρχεται καὶ ποῦ ὑπάγει

This appears to be a stronger example given the shared use of the term τὸ πνεῦμα and the phrase πόθεν ἔρχεται καὶ ποῦ ὑπάγει. Notwithstanding this, Inge appears to view this as a less strong example. He states that, "[t]he passage reads like an echo of the words in the Gospel, though the thought is quite different."<sup>57</sup> He further observes that "John 8<sup>14</sup> (οἶδα πόθεν ἦλθον καὶ ποῦ ὑπάγω) is in some ways nearer to Ignatius than 3<sup>8</sup>."<sup>58</sup> Hill places much greater weight on this correspondence than does Inge. He states, "[n]ot only does Ignatius take a distinctive and memorable phrase, known only, so far as we know, from its appearance in the Fourth Gospel, but he also relates it to the Spirit, as does that Gospel."<sup>59</sup> Here it appears that Hill is correct in seeing this as the strongest case for arguing for Ignatius' dependence of the Gospel of John. However, given that the shared lexemes are all common terms, and that there are internal parallels in the fourth gospel (as Inge and others have observed), in isolation it is not possible to see this examples as demonstrating the dependence of Ignatius on the fourth gospel at this point. Essentially this is Schoedel's conclusion. In relation to this example he notes, "[h]ere we have the strongest possibility in Ignatius of a dependence directly on the Fourth Gospel."<sup>60</sup> Yet he immediately qualifies this by stating, "in the absence of other positive evidence of such dependence the question must be left open."<sup>61</sup> Therefore, in fairness, this isolated example opens up the possibility that Ignatius, by some means, was familiar with a single item

<sup>57</sup> Inge, "Ignatius" (n. 25), 82.

<sup>58</sup> Inge, "Ignatius" (n. 25), 82.

<sup>59</sup> Hill, *The Johannine Corpus in the Early Church* (n. 55), 436.

<sup>60</sup> Schoedel, *Ignatius of Antioch* (n. 6), 206.

<sup>61</sup> Schoedel, *Ignatius of Antioch* (n. 6), 206.

of Johannine phraseology. However, since there are no further examples of even similarly possible dependence on the fourth gospel the overall case for Ignatius' use of the Gospel of John cannot be established.

## 5 Ignatius and the Gospels – a Conclusion

Ignatius uses the term “gospel,” τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, on eight occasions in his letters. None of these examples appears to be employed in the context of designating a written document. In fact, the opposite is true. When the meaning is relatively clear, Ignatius appears to use the term to denote verbal proclamation of the central salvific events announced in Christian teaching. In the cases where the sense is less clear, the most likely sense of the term τὸ εὐαγγέλιον remains that of designating the orally presented content of the Christian message. Therefore, Ignatius reveals no knowledge of documents that were circulating under the title of “the gospel” in his own lifetime.

However, when one considers Ignatius' awareness of some of the key events that are narrated in the canonical gospels it is apparent, especially from the five creed-like statements that are found at various points in his letters, that both the canonical gospel writers and Ignatius have a shared understanding of the key salvific events that constitute the Christian message of good news. By themselves, these semi-credal statements do not provide forms of traditions that have sufficient verbal affinity with material in the canonical gospels that allow the case for direct literary dependence to be established.

By contrast, when one looks more widely at material in Ignatius' writings then there are some examples where the parallels with traditions in the canonical gospels are sufficiently strong to suggest direct literary dependence as the most plausible explanation. Here a stringent test was applied. The test was given classic articulation by Helmut Köster, when he noted that given the internal overlap among the canonical gospels (especially the synoptic gospels), that one could only argue for literary dependence on a specific canonical gospel if the later text replicated material that was redactionally unique to a specific gospel.<sup>62</sup> In particular, there exist two strong examples both from the Gospel of Matthew where this appears to be the case. The first involves Ignatius' reproduction of the tradition that Jesus was baptised to “fulfil all righteousness” (Matt 3:15//Ign. Smyr. 1.1), and the second involves the uniquely Matthean statement “to be as wise as serpents and innocent as doves” (Matt 10.16b),

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62 Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung bei den Apostolischen Vätern* (n. 2), 3.

which has close verbal agreement with Ign. Poly. 2.2. Given these two strong examples of Ignatius' dependence on unique sayings in the Gospel of Matthew it also becomes more likely that when Ignatius is replicating material contained in the double or triple tradition that he is deriving such material from the first gospel. From this it is possible to infer that Ignatius did know the document that is known as the Gospel of Matthew. However, given the way in which he uses the term "gospel," τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, it is likely that the literary text was not known by that title when Ignatius composed his letters.

Therefore, Ignatius appears to be on the cusp of a new development in early Christianity. He writes at a time when it appears that several of gospels were in existence – certainly Matthew, and by implication Mark (although Ignatius betrays no knowledge of the latter document). He uses the term "gospel" in much the same way as the term is used in the Pauline writings. However, he does not use it in the sense of denoting written documents, or a literary genre. It is impossible to say exactly when that innovation would take place – at the latest by the time of Irenaeus (Ad. Haer. III.11.8), but presumably earlier than that.<sup>63</sup> Therefore, while Ignatius is familiar with the key narrative elements of the Christian gospel, and also that he likely knows a written text of the life of Jesus – the Gospel of Matthew, he does not know of any text that had been titled as "gospel." Given that Ignatius wrote his letters some time during the first half of the second century, such a lack of use of the term "gospel" to denote written documents is consistent with what is known more widely of the evolution of the term "gospel" from denoting oral proclamation to it continuing to denote the verbal announcement of the Christian message, but also developing as a descriptor of a type of early Christian literature with the title "gospel" being developed after the production of the texts that become known under that nomenclature.

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<sup>63</sup> However, it is important to note that around the middle of the second century Justin refers to literary texts, which were most likely the canonical gospels, using the description "the memoirs of the Apostles" (*First Apology* 66.3; 67.3).



Francis Watson

## On the Miracle Catena in *Epistula Apostolorum* 4–5

Following a complex epistolary opening and a passage of credal confession, the *Epistula Apostolorum* has its collective apostolic authors narrate a series of seven miracle stories from Jesus' earthly life, before proceeding to the events of Easter Day, a long question-and-answer session with the risen Lord, and a concluding ascension narrative. Of the seven stories, one is paralleled in John alone (turning water into wine), another in Matthew alone (the fish with coins in its mouth). Two stories occur in all three synoptic gospels (the haemorrhaging woman, Legion), one in Matthew, Mark, and John (walking on the water), and one in all four canonical gospels (the feeding of the five thousand). The story about the child Jesus' first day at school has parallels in Irenaeus and the *Infancy Gospel of Thomas*.<sup>1</sup>

The sequence of the seven stories is as follows:

- (1) Jesus' alphabet lesson
- (2) Water into wine
- (3) The haemorrhaging woman
- (4) Legion
- (5) Walking on water
- (6) The coins in the fish's mouth
- (7) The feeding of the five thousand<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The collection of miracle stories is found in *Epistula Apostolorum* (*EpAp*) 4–5, part of a section extant only in Ethiopic (*EpAp* 1–6). The Ethiopic text was edited by Louis Guerrier (with Sylvain Grébaut), *Le Testament en Galilée de Notre-Seigneur Jésus-Christ*, *Patrologia Orientalis* 9 (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1913, repr. Turnhout: Brepols, 1982), 141–236; the incomplete Coptic, by Carl Schmidt (with Isaak Wajnberg), *Gespräche Jesu mit seinen Jüngern nach der Auferstehung* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1919, repr. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1967), 1\*–26\*. Translations here are my own. Verse divisions here are those of Julian V. Hills, *The Epistle of the Apostles*, *Early Christian Apocrypha* 2 (Santa Rosa CA: Polebridge Press, 2009), except in a few cases where my forthcoming translation uses a different enumeration.

<sup>2</sup> A different analysis of *EpAp* 4–5 is offered by Hills, who argues that its narrative components are expansions of a list of miraculous actions whose basic form is preserved in *EpAp* 5.2, 9 (Julian V. Hills, *Tradition and Composition in the Epistula Apostolorum* [Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008], 37–48). Hills identifies a miracle list genre from texts such as the *Acts of Paul*, the *Pseudo-Clementine Homilies*, and the *Teaching of Addai*, and he views these lists as “differing in both form and function from the canonical miracle stories” (38, italics orig-

The placing of item (2) reflects the Johannine claim that the miracle at Cana was “the beginning of the signs” (Jn 2:1), although here it is preceded by a story implying the child Jesus’ possession of supernatural knowledge. Items (3) to (7) are all present in Matthew, though the sequence is out of step with the canonical evangelists.<sup>3</sup> The haemorrhaging woman is placed before the encounter with Legion, not immediately after (Mark, Luke)<sup>4</sup> or after several intervening episodes (Matthew).<sup>5</sup> The feeding of the five thousand is preceded by the walking on the water rather than being followed by it, as in Matthew, Mark, and John,<sup>6</sup> and the incident of the coins in the fish’s mouth is inserted between them. While the author of *EpAp* shows signs of familiarity with Matthew, Luke, and John, he does not feel himself bound by editorial decisions made by his predecessors.<sup>7</sup> For this author there is no pre-existing canonical sequence of miracle stories, nor is there a canonical limit to the number of sources on which to draw – as the inclusion of the childhood story indicates.

The new sequence is not constructed at random. Setting aside the first story for the moment, the second (water into wine) has to do with Jesus’ power over the material creation, and specifically over water. The liquid theme continues into the story of the haemorrhaging woman: from water to wine to blood. In the Legion story, the water is that of the Sea of Galilee: the demon Legion “went into the pigs and plunged them into the sea, and they were drowned” (*EpAp* 5.12). The sea also features in the episodes that follow. Jesus “walked on the sea, and the winds blew and he rebuked them, and the waves of the sea were still” (5.13). When the disciples can find no money to pay off the

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inal). Given the prominence in *EpAp* of stories closely related to canonical counterparts, this emphasis on difference seems exaggerated.

3 (3) Mt 9:20–22 (haemorrhaging woman); (4) Mt 8:28–34 (Legion); (5) Mt 14:22–27 (walking on water); (6) Mt 17:24–27 (coin in fish’s mouth); (7) Mt 14:13–21 (feeding of the five thousand).

4 Mk 5:1–20, 25–34; Lk 8:26–39, 42b–48.

5 Legion (Mt 8:28–34), the paralytic (Mt 9:1–8), the call of Matthew (Mt 9:9–13), fasting (Mt 9:14–17), Jairus/haemorrhaging woman (Mt 9:18–31). The first and last of these episodes are drawn from Mark 5:1–43, and between them the evangelist has inserted material drawn from Mark 2:1–22. See Francis Watson, *Gospel Writing: A Canonical Perspective* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2013), 148–51.

6 Mt 14:13–21, 22–33; Mk 6:30–44, 45–52; Jn 6:1–15, 16–21.

7 For the author’s knowledge of earlier gospel material, see C. Schmidt, *Gespräche Jesu* (n. 1), 213–29; Judith Hartenstein, *Die zweite Lehre: Erscheinungen des Auferstandenen als Rahmenerzählungen frühchristlicher Dialoge*, TU 146 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2000), 119–26. Knowledge of gospels that were to be included in the New Testament does not mean that, for this author, “the authoritative sources are fixed and now closed” (Charles Hill, *The Johannine Corpus in the Early Church* [Oxford: OUP, 2004], 368; cf. Darrell D. Hannah, “The Four-Gospel ‘Canon’ in the *Epistula Apostolorum*”, *JTS* 59 n.s. [2008], 598–633).

tax-collector, Jesus responds: “Let one of you cast a hook into the deep and draw out a fish, and he will find denarii in it” (5.15). Finally, the fish with a coin in its mouth provides a link to the “five loaves and two fish” of the miraculous feeding story with which the sequence ends (5.17). The chain of verbal or thematic links begins with water and ends with fish, taking in wine, blood, and the sea along the way.

The miracle catena demonstrates Jesus’ power over water and its derivatives. This in turn creates a connection with the credal or hymn-like passage that immediately precedes the catena. There Jesus is referred to as the one,

who is over the Cherubim, and who sits at the right hand of the throne of the Father, who by his word commanded the heavens and founded the earth and what is in it, and restrained the sea so that it might not cross its boundary, and makes depths and springs gush forth and flow into the earth day and night. (*EpAp* 3.4–5)<sup>8</sup>

While it is not entirely clear whether it is the Father or the pre-existent Jesus “who by his word commanded the heavens”, the sequence of *who*-formulations begins with a confession of “our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, who was sent from God [...]” and ends with a reference to the one “who spoke with the forefathers and prophets in parables and in truth, whom the apostles preached and the disciples touched” (3.11–12). The identity of Jesus seems here to be assimilated to that of the Father, and the earthly Jesus who turned water into wine and calmed the sea is thus the same as the pre-existent Jesus who restrained the sea and caused springs to gush forth. As we shall see, the first story in the miracle catena – the child Jesus’ lesson in the alphabet – may have been intended as a conceptual link between the confession or hymn and the catena.

## 1 The Miracle Catena and the Question of Genre

If *EpAp* is classified as a “post-resurrection dialogue” alongside such texts as the *Apocryphon of James* (NHC I,2) or the *Sophia of Jesus Christ* (NHC III,4; BG 8502,3), the miracle catena may seem an anomaly, leading one to wonder whether it is a later addition to a text with an originally exclusive post-resurrection setting.

Post-resurrection dialogues typically lack even an account of the events of Easter morning, focusing instead on the epiphanic appearance of the risen

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<sup>8</sup> In this passage and elsewhere, there are minor text-critical issues that will not be noted here (see my forthcoming translation).

Lord that occasions the dialogue and the revelations it contains.<sup>9</sup> In the *Apocryphon of James* the Lord appears to his disciples as they write their respective gospels, five hundred and fifty days after he had risen from the dead, and also, apparently, at an unspecified interval after his ascension – an event that must therefore be repeated at the end of this text.<sup>10</sup> Here and elsewhere, Jesus' resurrection is the presupposition of his appearance, but Easter Day itself remains in the background. Still less is the earthly life emphasized, present only in the negative form represented by the "parables", impenetrable mysteries no longer appropriate in a situation of post-resurrection clarity.<sup>11</sup> Similarly, the *Sophia of Jesus Christ* opens by recounting how "[...] after he rose from the dead, the twelve disciples and seven women continued as disciples, coming to Galilee onto the Mountain called Divination and Joy."<sup>12</sup> The overwhelming post-resurrection clarity may be signified by the Lord's glorious appearance, in explicit or implicit contrast to the lowly human form he had earlier assumed. In the *Sophia of Jesus Christ*, "the Saviour appeared not in his previous form but in the invisible spirit, and his likeness was like a great angel of light[...]"<sup>13</sup> In the *Apocryphon of John*, the apostle John retreated to the desert to contemplate, when suddenly "the heavens opened and the whole creation below heaven shone and the world was shaken."<sup>14</sup> In such texts as these there is no place for accounts of Jesus' pre-Easter ministry. The same might in principle have been true of *EpAp* in its original form; the miracle catena might be a later addition. Yet, rather than forcing *EpAp* into the mould of texts with which it may have little in common beyond its post-resurrectional setting and dialogical form, there is good reason to think that the miracle catena is an integral part of this text.

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<sup>9</sup> The absence of an Easter story in these texts is rightly noted by Judith Hartenstein, *Die zweite Lehre* (n. 7), 99–100. Along with the *Epistula*, Hartenstein discusses the *Sophia of Jesus Christ*, the *Apocryphon of John*, the *Gospel of Mary*, the *Letter of Peter to Philip*, the *First Apocalypse of James*, and the *Letter (or Apocryphon) of James* (34–246).

<sup>10</sup> The pseudonymous James tells how "the Saviour appeared, having left us as we looked and five hundred and fifty days after he rose from the dead" (*ApJas* 2, 17–21). Coptic text in *Nag Hammadi Codex I (The Jung Codex): Introductions, Texts, Translations, Indices*, ed. Harold W. Attridge (Leiden: Brill, 1985). On the 550 days, compare Irenaeus's report that, according to his opponents, Jesus remained with his disciples for 18 months after his resurrection, following a ministry of just one year (*Adv. Haer.* 1.3.2–3).

<sup>11</sup> *ApJas* 7, 1–6; cf. 8, 1–10.

<sup>12</sup> *SophJesCh*, NHC III 90,14–91.1. Text in *Nag Hammadi Codices III,3–4 and V,1*, ed. Douglas M. Parrott, (Leiden: Brill, 1991).

<sup>13</sup> NHC III 91, 10–13.

<sup>14</sup> NHC II 1, 30–33. Text in *The Apocryphon of John: Synopsis of Nag Hammadi Codices II,1; III,1; and IV,1 with BG 8502,2*, ed. Michael Waldstein and Frederik Wisse (Leiden: Brill, 1995).

The catena is only extant in Ge'ez translation, but it was almost certainly part of the Coptic version as well. Where they can be compared, deviations between the two versions are slight. Page I of the present incomplete and damaged Coptic text must originally have been page 9, as is clear from the first extant page number on what was originally page 18 (now page X).<sup>15</sup> A Coptic manuscript page of 15 lines corresponds to 8–9 lines in the modern printed Ge'ez text, in which chapters 1–6 of *EpAp* occupy a total of 61 lines,<sup>16</sup> and the Coptic version of these chapters would therefore require around 7–8 pages.<sup>17</sup> On the first extant Coptic page (page 9), the new section beginning “Cerinthos and Simon have gone out [...]” (7.1) corresponds exactly to the page break. This may suggest that a blank space was left at the bottom of the original page 8, reflecting the relatively self-contained character of *EpAp* 1–6, where the closing exhortation in 6.3 (“Be strong and do not waver [...]”) forms an *inclusio* with 1.3 (“so that you may be strong and not waver[...]").

This self-contained character might seem to strengthen the suspicion that *EpAp* 1–6 and the miracle catena it includes may be secondary elements within this text. Other relevant factors include the doubling of the epistolary introduction and the warning against heresy. The contents of *EpAp* prior to the beginning of the dialogue (chapters 13–50) may be set out as follows:

- EpAp* 1        Epistolary introduction (1): Warning against heresy – blessing
- EpAp* 2        Epistolary introduction (2): Authors and addresses identified – content
- EpAp* 3        Confession of faith in Christ as creator and as incarnate
- EpAp* 4–5      Miracle catena
- EpAp* 6        Summary and exhortation
- EpAp* 7–8      Warning against heresy
- EpAp* 9        Easter morning: women visit the tomb
- EpAp* 10      Women's unsuccessful mission to male disciples
- EpAp* 11–12   The disciples touch the risen Lord and are convinced

15 C. Schmidt, *Gespräche* (n. 1), 7\*, confirmed from digital images. Schmidt's Roman numerals refer only to (partially) extant pages.

16 Guerrier, *Testament* (n. 1), 188–93.

17 In Guerrier's enumeration these are chapters 12–17, since *EpAp*<sup>eth</sup> manuscripts are preceded by a later apocalyptic section which also provides a title for the whole composite work, “Testament of our Lord and our Saviour Jesus Christ”, and a Galilean setting (Guerrier, *Testament* (n. 1), 177). The pagination of the Coptic manuscript shows that this section cannot have been present there, and the standard enumeration introduced by Schmidt and Wajnberg emends Guerrier's enumeration accordingly.

In *EpAp* 1 the apostolic authors warn their readers against the false apostles Simon and Cerinthus before they name themselves and identify their readers as “the churches of the east and the west, the north and the south” (2.1–2). The warning against Simon and Cerinthus is repeated in *EpAp* 7–8. In both cases it is the ostensible reason for writing.<sup>18</sup> In chapter 1 the authors promise to communicate “what we have heard and remembered and written for the whole world” (1.4), a promise of which the miracle catena of chapters 4–5 might be the fulfilment, summed up in the words: “And these things our Lord and Saviour revealed to us and showed us, as we likewise do to you” (6.1). In contrast, chapter 2 specifically refers to the resurrection: “[W]e write about how we both heard him and touched him after he was raised from the dead, and how he revealed to us what is great and wonderful and true” (2.3). This statement corresponds precisely to the Easter narrative of chapters 9–12 and the revelatory dialogue of chapters 13–50.

One might therefore envisage a development in which a revelatory dialogue with an exclusively post-resurrection setting (chapters 2, 7–51) is conflated with a shorter text focusing on the miracle catena (chapters 1, 3–6). This is very unlikely, however. In reality there is a skilfully constructed symmetry between two narrative components of similar length (the miracle catena and the Easter account) and the passages of warning and confession that introduce them. The symmetry is evident at three points:

(i) *Warnings against false Apostles as Reason for Writing:*

What Jesus Christ revealed to his disciples and to all: because of Simon and Cerinthus the false apostles it has been written, so that no-one should associate with them [...] (1.1–2)<sup>19</sup>

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**18** This text is aware of the general concept of heresy (29.1–4; 37.4; 50.8–11) but says nothing about any specific heretical content. It is therefore inappropriate to “mirror-read” heretical views from *EpAp* on such topics as resurrection (see Hartenstein, *Die zweite Lehre* [n. 7], 102–7).

**19** Text emended to remove a doublet: “What Jesus Christ revealed to his disciples and [how Jesus Christ revealed the book to the company of the apostles the disciples of Jesus Christ] to all [...]” There is no basis for translating *la-kʾəllu* as “to the Catholics” (“den Katholischen”): see C. F. A. Dillmann, *Lexicon Linguae Aethiopicae* (repr. New York: Ungar, 1955), 814–16, where “catholic” as associated with *kʾəllu* only in a small number of references to “the catholic church” (815). This egregious translation error stems from H. Duensing, who originally translated the phrase, “den für alle (bestimmten)”, glossing this in a footnote as “katholischen” (H. Duensing, *Epistula Apostolorum nach dem Äthiopischen und Koptischen Texte herausgegeben* [Bonn: Marcus & Weber, 1925], 5). In the 1959 edition of the Hennecke-Schneemelcher collection the gloss was elevated into the main text of Duensing’s translation, where it persists in the “careful revision” of C. D. G. Müller and its English derivatives. See E. Hennecke and W. Schneemelcher, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung: I. Band, Evangelien* (J. C. B. Mohr [Paul

Cerinthus and Simon have gone out, they traverse the world, but they are enemies of our Lord Jesus Christ [...] For this reason we have not delayed to write to you about the testimony of our Saviour the Christ [...] (7.1–2; 8.1)

More positively, the apostles write about “what we have heard and remembered” (1.4), “what he did as we watched him, things still in our thoughts and deeds” (8.2). The later passage does not derive from a different source but recapitulates the opening of this text.

(ii) *Confession of Faith:*

And God the Son of God we confess [*na'amān*], the Word that became flesh of Mary, carried in her womb through the Holy Spirit. And not by the desire of the flesh but by the will of God was he born; and he was swaddled in Bethlehem, and manifested and nourished and grew up as we saw. (3.13–15)

The one we confess is the Lord who was crucified by Pontius Pilate and Archelaus between the two thieves, and who was buried in a place called “The Skull” [...] (9.1)

The miracle catena of chapters 4–5 fits precisely between these two confessional statements, filling the gap between Jesus' birth and his death. The link has been partially obscured by the summary of chapter 6 and the recapitulation of the anti-heretical warnings in chapters 7–8, but it remains evident nonetheless.

(iii) *Narrative Section (Miracle Catena / Easter Day):*

This is what the Lord did when he was taken by Joseph and Mary his mother to be taught letters [...] (4.1)

There came to that place three women, Mary and Martha and Mary Magdalene [...] (9.2)

The two narrative sections (*EpAp* 4–5, 9–12) are of similar length, and the first should not be seen as merely preparatory for the second. The second section is anticipated in the apostles' intention to “write about how we both heard him and touched him after he was raised from the dead” (2.3); the first is summarized in

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Siebeck], 1959<sup>3</sup>), 127; W. Schneemelcher, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen: I. Evangelien* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1990<sup>6</sup>), 207; C. Marksches and J. Schröter, *Antike christliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung: I. Band: Evangelien und Verwandtes, Teilband 2*, (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), 1065; Eng. tr. in R. McL. Wilson, *New Testament Apocrypha, Volume I: Gospels and Related Writings* (Louisville and London: WJK Press; Cambridge: James Clarke, 1991), 252; J. K. Elliott, *The Apocryphal New Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 537.

their statement that “these things our Lord and Saviour revealed to us and showed us, as we likewise do to you” (6.1).

In view of this carefully constructed symmetry, it is clear that the miracle catena is as deeply embedded in the text of *EpAp* as the Easter narrative.<sup>20</sup> Further insights into its complex frame may be gained by comparison with Johannine literature – a category that may already have been known to the author, who lists John as the first of the apostles (2.1).<sup>21</sup>

The work opens with the phrase, “What Jesus Christ revealed to his disciples” (*EpAp* 1.1), which recalls the “revelation of Jesus Christ” announced in Revelation 1:1. A further parallel may be seen in the deferred identification of author and readers: “John and Thomas and Peter [...] to the churches of east and west, north and south” (*EpAp* 2.1–2); “John to the seven churches that are in Asia” (Rev 1:4). In *EpAp* 1.4, “What we have heard and remembered and written [...] we entrust to you [...] in joy”, an echo is perceptible of 1 John 1:3–4: “What we have seen and heard we announce to you [...] And we write these things so that our joy may be fulfilled in you.”<sup>22</sup> In the confession that introduces the miracle catena (*EpAp* 3.13–14), echoes of the Johannine prologue are unmistakable: “the Word [...] became flesh of Mary” (cf. Jn 1:14), “And not by the desire of the flesh but by the will of God was he born” (cf. Jn 1:13).<sup>23</sup> Finally, the summary that

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**20** Contrast Hartenstein’s view that the miracle catena belongs to the “Einleitungskapiteln” that precede “die eigentliche Rahmenerzählung für den Dialog”, i.e. chapters 9–12 (Hartenstein, *Zweite Lehre* [n. 7], 99). Hartenstein’s marginalizing of chapters 1–6 is occasioned in part by the general assumption that the Ethiopic version is derivative of an Arabic translation of the Coptic, thus at three removes from the Greek original (97–98). There is however no more reason to doubt that the Ethiopic version was translated directly from Greek than in the case of other biblical or parabiblical books (cf. M. Bockmuehl, *Ancient Apocryphal Gospels* [Louisville KY: WJK, 2017], 216).

**21** The apostle John is identified as the author of the Book of Revelation by Justin (*Dial.* 81.4). Irenaeus also attributes to him the Gospel (*Adv. Haer.* 3.1.1), 1 John (*Adv. Haer.* 3.16.5), and 2 John (*Adv. Haer.* 3.16.3).

**22** Noted by Hans-Josef Klauck, *Apocryphal Gospels: An Introduction* (London and New York: T & T Clark, 2003), 154. But there is little reason to follow Klauck in concluding from this that “the author intends to fight against a docetic dissolution of Jesus’ true human nature and of the reality of his bodily resurrection”, or that he “sometimes adopts gnostic elements in the course of his battle against gnosis” (154).

**23** The *EpAp* passage corresponds closely to the well-known Latin variant, *qui non ex sanguinibus neque ex voluntate carnis nec ex voluntate viri sed ex deo natus est* (Codex Veronensis [b, 6<sup>th</sup> century]; cf. Tertullian, *De Carn. Chr.* 19.1–5, where there is an extended defence of the singular against the plural reading). While the singular reading might seem to have been occasioned by the ambiguity of the Latin *qui* (masc.sing. or masc.pl., contrast Greek ὅς, οἱ), Irenaeus’s allu-



explains the purpose of the miracle catena seems to parallel the original ending of the Gospel of John:

But these things are written so that you may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and so that believing you may have life in his name. (Jn 20:31)

And these things our Lord and Saviour revealed to us and showed us, as we likewise do to you, so that you may be partakers in the grace of the Lord and in our ministry and our glory, as you think of eternal life. (*EpAp* 6.1–2)<sup>24</sup>

Both passages speak of the soteriological significance of the seven miracles that have been selected in each case, and both do so in a primarily post-resurrection context (Jn 20; *EpAp* 9–51). Indeed, the Johannine passage seems out of place in its present context, referring as it does to a series of signs that concluded with the raising of Lazarus back in chapter 11. John 20:30–31 is one of several pieces of evidence that make the hypothesis of a pre-Johannine signs source plausible and attractive.<sup>25</sup> On that hypothesis, John 20:30–31 would originally have rounded off a pre-Johannine miracle catena, suggesting a still closer analogy to *EpAp* 6.

These Johannine affinities raise questions about genre, creating difficulties for the view that *EpAp* can be straightforwardly classified as a “post-resurrection dialogue”, differing from its companions only in its “proto-orthodoxy”. In this text eleven apostles record what they have “heard and remembered” (1.4), perhaps representing an original ὡς ἑώρακαμεν καὶ ἐμνήσθημεν. Thus *EpAp* recalls Justin’s references to early gospel literature as ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν ἀπο-

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sions to this passage in connection with Jesus’ conception suggest that this reading may also have been current in early Greek manuscripts (*Adv. Haer.* 3.16.2, 19.2; 5.1.3). Ge’ez *ba-fātwater šəgā* probably represents *Gk* οὐκ ἐξ ἐπιθυμίας τῆς σαρκός, however, rather than the Johannine οὐδε ἐκ θελήματος σαρκός (cf. 1 Jn.2.16; Dillmann, *Lexicon* [n. 19], 1369).

**24** The author’s knowledge of John 20 is confirmed by *EpAp* 11.7, which elaborates the Johannine invitation to Thomas to confirm the bodily reality of the risen Lord (Jn 20:27) and by *EpAp* 29.5–6, the blessing of those who have not seen (cf. Jn 20.29).

**25** On the Johannine signs source, see Rudolf Bultmann, *The Gospel of John* (Eng. tr. Oxford: Blackwell, 1971), 6–7, 113–15, and passim; Robert T. Fortna, *The Gospel of Signs: A Reconstruction of the Narrative Source Underlying the Fourth Gospel* (Cambridge: CUP, 1970); *ibid.*, *The Fourth Gospel and its Predecessor* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1989); H.-P. Heekerens, *Die Zeichen-Quelle der johanneischen Redaktion: Ein Beitrag zur Entstehungsgeschichte des vierten Evangelium* (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1984); John Ashton, *Studying John: Approaches to the Fourth Gospel* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 90–113. Ashton rightly concludes that “the arguments in favour of the *existence* of a signs source are overwhelming”, but that we should not suppose “that it can be *reconstructed* with equal certainty in the form in which the author left it” (*Studying John*, 103; *italics original*).

στόλων αὐτοῦ, “memoirs of his [Christ’s] apostles.”<sup>26</sup> While there is nothing to suggest that Justin was familiar with *EpAp*, his claim that gospels known to him derive from collective apostolic memory corresponds closely to this text. In contrast, neither Matthew nor Luke – the primary texts to which Justin is referring – make any such claim for themselves. Yet for Justin these gospels embody apostolic memory even when they speak of Jesus’ birth and childhood.<sup>27</sup> Similarly in *EpAp* the apostles can collectively claim that Jesus “was swaddled in Bethlehem and manifested and nourished and grew up *as we saw*” (3.15). The apostles’ participation in the events of Jesus’ ministry is also strongly emphasized in the miracle catena by the continuing use of the first person plural:

And as we considered and wondered at the glorious things he had done, he said *to us*, “Who touched me?” And we said to him, “Lord, the press of the crowd touched you!” And he answered and said to *us*, “I felt that power came forth upon me.” Immediately that woman came before him and answered him and said to him, “Lord, I touched you.” (4.4–7)

And when we his disciples had no denarii, we said to him, “Teacher, what shall we do about the tax-collector?” And he answered and said to *us*, “Let one of you cast a hook into the deep and draw out a fish, and he will find denarii in it. Give them to the tax-collector for myself and for you [*pl.*].” (4.14–15)

Then when we had no food except five loaves and two fishes, he commanded the men to recline. And their number was found to be five thousand besides children and women, and to these we brought pieces of bread. And they were satisfied, and there was some left over, and we removed twelve basketfuls of pieces. (4.17–19)

In each case the first person plural has been added to the author’s probable sources (on this see further below). It continues on into the Easter narrative and beyond:

<sup>26</sup> The full phrase occurs in *Dial.* 100.4; 101.3; 102.5; 104.1; 106.4, abbreviated versions in 103.6; 105.1, 5, 6; 106.1, 3; 107.1, and an expanded version in 103.8. Cf. also *1Apol* 66.3.

<sup>27</sup> For an analysis of Justin’s use of canonical gospel material, see Watson, *Gospel Writing* (n. 5), 473–77. In *Dial.* 103.8, Justin cites passages from the Lukan and Matthean Gethsemane narratives (sweat like blood, Lk 22:44; “Remove this cup [...]”, Mt 26:39), introducing them with the fullest of his references to the apostolic memoirs: ἐν γὰρ τοῖς ἀπομνημονεύμασιν, ἃ φημι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν ἐκείνοις παρακολουθησάντων συντετάχθαι. It is likely that Justin sees Matthew not as the product of an individual apostle but as collective apostolic memoirs and Luke as the prime example of memoirs by apostolic followers. Justin’s language here may be influenced by Luke 1:1–3, where the evangelist differentiates the apostolic eyewitnesses from writers of gospels such as himself. Justin’s καὶ τῶν ἐκείνοις παρακολουθησάντων συντετάχθαι may echo Luke’s κάμιοι παρακολουθηκότι [...] γράψαι. Text in Miroslav Marcovich (ed.), *Iustini Martyris Apologiae pro Christianis, Dialogus cum Tryphone* (Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 2005).

Martha came and told us. We said to her, “What do you want with us, O woman? One who died and is buried, can he come back to life?” We did not believe her that the Saviour had risen from the dead. (9.3–5)

This thread of collective first person plural references remains unbroken through the dialogue section (*EpAp* 13–50) and to the ascension narrative with which it concludes:

And when he had said this and finished speaking with us, he said to us again, “Behold, on the third day, at the third hour, the one who sent me will come so that I may go with him.” And as he spoke there was thunder and lightning and an earthquake, and the heavens were torn asunder, and a bright cloud came and took him. And we heard the voice of many angels as they rejoiced and blessed and said, “Gather us, O priest, into the light of glory!” And when he drew near to the firmament of heaven, we heard him saying, “Go in peace!” (51.1–4)

Thus the extensive narrative frame for the central dialogue is similar in scope to that of the Gospel of Luke, incorporating Jesus’ birth in Bethlehem, his childhood, the mighty works of his ministry, and his crucifixion, burial, resurrection, and ascension. In other dialogue-centred texts such as the *Apocryphon of James* and the *Sophia of Jesus Christ*, the narrative setting is confined to the post-Easter sequel to Jesus’ earthly life. *EpAp* also approximates more closely to canonical gospel literature in having the apostles address Jesus collectively rather than individually. The introductory formula, “And we said to him [...]” occurs 51 times in this text, and echoes canonical phraseology such as, “And his disciples came and said to him [...]” (Mt 13:10), “His disciples said to him [...]” (Mt 19:10), “And the apostles said to the Lord [...]” (Lk 17:5), “His disciples said [...]” (Jn 16:29). Collective address is also the norm in the *Gospel of Thomas*: “His disciples asked him [...]” (*GTh* 6), “The disciples said to Jesus [...]” (*GTh* 12), “His disciples said to him [...]” (*GTh* 52).<sup>28</sup> At no point in *EpAp* does an individual disciple pose a question, as Peter, Thomas, Philip, and “Judas not Iscariot” do in the opening section of the Johannine Farewell Discourses (Jn 13:36; 14:5, 8, 22).

When this individuation of the disciples and their questions is extended across a whole text, the result is to fragment the previously collective apostolic testimony. In the *Dialogue of the Saviour* and the *Sophia of Jesus Christ*, individual questions are put to Jesus by privileged disciples: Matthew, Judas, and Mary in the first case, Philip, Matthew, Thomas, Mary, and Bartholomew in the second. Thus, in sharp contrast to *EpAp*, the *Apocryphon of James* tells how “the twelve

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<sup>28</sup> Questions or proposals put to Jesus by individual disciples occur in *GTh* 21 (Mary), 61 (Salome), and 114 (Peter).

disciples [were] all sitting together and recalling what the Saviour had said to each one of them, whether secretly or openly, and arranging it in books.”<sup>29</sup> In the *Apocryphon of John* an extended revelation is communicated to John alone, and the work closes by describing how “he went to his fellow disciples and told them what the Saviour had said to him.”<sup>30</sup> A similar expectation of individual revelation is expressed in the *Gospel of Mary*, where Peter asks Mary to “tell us the words of the Saviour that you remember, the ones that you know and we do not [...]”<sup>31</sup>

These gospels or gospel-like texts all present themselves as the product of apostolic memory, but *EpAp* is distinctive in assuming that apostolic memory is collective rather than individual. That is still the view of Justin, as it had earlier been of Luke, for whom the “many” written gospels to which he is to add his own contribution conform to what has been handed down by “those who from the beginning were eyewitness and ministers of the word” (Lk 1:3). This further Lukan link confirms that *EpAp* straddles the boundary between the narrative gospel and dialogue gospel genres. The miracle catena is one of several features that establish this text’s credentials as a contribution to narrative gospel literature.

## 2 Tradition and Redaction

Most of the stories recounted in the miracle catena of *EpAp* appear to be derived from one or more of the canonical gospels. From John there is the wedding at Cana, here briefly summarized;<sup>32</sup> from two or three of the synoptists, the haemorrhaging woman and the exorcism of the demon named Legion;<sup>33</sup> from Matthew, Mark, and John, the walking on the water;<sup>34</sup> from Matthew, the story of the coin in the fish’s mouth;<sup>35</sup> and from all four canonical evangelists, the feeding of the five thousand.<sup>36</sup> In tracing this material back to canonical sources, it should not

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<sup>29</sup> *ApJas* 2, 8–14.

<sup>30</sup> *ApJn* 83.4–6.

<sup>31</sup> *GMary* 10, 4–6, cf. P.Oxy. 3525 14–17. The expectation of individual revelation here is a generic feature and should not be reduced to an issue of characterization: cf. Christopher Tuckett, *The Gospel of Mary* (Oxford Early Christian Gospel Texts, Oxford: OUP, 2007), 168–69.

<sup>32</sup> *EpAp* 5.1; cf. *Jn* 2.1–11.

<sup>33</sup> *EpAp* 5.3–12; cf. Mt 9.20–22, Mk.5.25–34, Lk 6.43–48; Mt 8.28–34, Mk.5.1–20, Lk 8.26–39.

<sup>34</sup> *EpAp* 5.13; cf. Mt 14.22–33, Mk.6.45–52, *Jn* 6.15–21.

<sup>35</sup> *EpAp* 5.14–16; cf. Mt 17.24–27.

<sup>36</sup> *EpAp* 5.17–21; cf. Mt 14.15–21, Mk.6.35–44, Lk 9.12–17, *Jn* 6.1–12.

be assumed that those sources were already “canonical” for the author. All that can safely be deduced is that they were available to him, just as Mark was available to Matthew and Luke.<sup>37</sup> If the *EpAp* version of the fish with the coin in its mouth is secondary to Matthew, Matthew’s version of the haemorrhaging woman is equally secondary to Mark. In other words, the *EpAp* miracle catena belongs within a single ongoing process of writing and rewriting the traditional stories about Jesus. There are not two processes of gospel writing, one canonical and the other apocryphal; there is a single process retrospectively divided by the canonical decision for the fourfold gospel.

(1) With the fourfold gospel securely in place, Irenaeus can attack a popular story about the child Jesus’ first day at school as a “fabrication” (ῥαδιουργημα) illustrating his opponents’ use of “an unspeakable multitude of apocryphal and spurious writings” (ἀμύθητον πλῆθος ἀποκρύφων καὶ νόθων γραφῶν). In the absence of a fourfold canonical gospel, however, the author of *EpAp* feels free to include the story as a miracle of precocious supernatural knowledge to open his catena. With the corrupt Ge’ez version of its ending emended, the story reads as follows:

This is what the Lord did when he was taken by Joseph and Mary his mother to be taught letters. And his teacher said to him as he taught him, “Say, Alpha!” He answered and said to him, “You tell me first what Beta is, and then \*I will trust you by saying Alpha!” (*EpAp* 4.1–3)<sup>38</sup>

In the Ge’ez version the sequel to “You tell me first what Beta is [...]” reads, “and then truly he did what was done”. This seems to be an attempt at an *inclusio* with the opening (“This is what the Lord did [...]”), yet it is virtually meaningless.<sup>39</sup> With minor emendations, the opening three words, *wa-’əmza ’amān* (“And when truly”) can be read as *wa-’əmzə ’a’ammən* (“And then I will trust”). This suggests a link with the longer and later version of the story in the *Infancy Gospel of Thomas*, where the child Jesus dutifully repeats the letter Alpha but objects to the hasty transition to Beta with Alpha still unexplained: “First teach me Alpha,

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<sup>37</sup> The distinction between the use of a source and recognition of its ongoing authority is rightly emphasized by David C. Sim, “Matthew’s Use of Mark: Did Matthew Intend to Supplement or Replace his Primary Source,” *NTS* 57 (2011): 176–92. See also Watson, “How Did Mark Survive?”, in *Matthew and Mark across Perspectives: Essays in Honour of Stephen C. Barton and William R. Telford*, ed. Kristian A. Bendoraitis and Nijay K. Gupta, (London: T&T Clark/Bloomsbury, 2016), 1–17.

<sup>38</sup> The asterisk indicates the beginning of a textual emendation.

<sup>39</sup> As Hills acknowledges, the concluding phrase “is probably corrupt in all mss.” (Hill, *The Epistle of the Apostles* [n. 1], 24).

and then I will trust you by saying Beta” (πρῶτον δίδαξόν με τὸ ἄλφα καὶ τότε πιστεύσω σοι λέγειν τὸ βῆτα).<sup>40</sup> The *EpAp*<sup>gk</sup> version of the second part of this saying may therefore have read: [...] καὶ τότε πιστεύσω σοι λέγειν τὸ ἄλφα.

The story as told in *EpAp* is also closely related to the version recorded by Irenaeus. With probable equivalences to *EpAp*<sup>gk</sup> underlined, Irenaeus’s version runs as follows:

ὡς τοῦ κυρίου τὰ διὰ τοῦ διδασκάλου αὐτῷ φήσαντος, καθὼς ἔθος ἐστίν, εἰπὲ ἄλφα, ἀποκρίνασθαι τὸ ἄλφα, πάλιν τε τὸ βῆτα τοῦ διδασκάλου κελεύσαντος εἰπεῖν, ἀποκρίνασθαι τὸν κύριον σύ μοι πρότερον εἰπὲ τί ἐστὶ τὸ ἄλφα, καὶ τότε σοι ἐρῶ τί ἐστὶ τὸ βῆτα.

When the teacher said to him, as was his custom, “Say Alpha!”, the Lord answered, “Alpha”. And when again the teacher told him to say Beta, he answered, “You first tell me what Alpha is, and then I will tell you about Beta!” (Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* 1.20.1)<sup>41</sup>

As in the *Infancy Gospel of Thomas*, the child does say “Alpha”, as requested, but refuses to pronounce “Beta” until the esoteric significance of the first letter of the alphabet has been explained. In the more succinct *EpAp* version, there is no initial compliance from the child, and the teacher is challenged to explain “Beta.” *EpAp*<sup>gk</sup> may here have read, σύ μοι πρότερον εἰπὲ τί ἐστὶ τὸ βῆτα καὶ τότε πιστεύσω λέγειν τὸ ἄλφα.

In the Book of Revelation, Christ is the Alpha and the Omega, the First and the Last (Rev.22:13). In *EpAp* 4 he is Alpha and Beta, the First and the Second. The explanation may be found in the two articles of the Christological confession immediately preceding the miracle catena:

The one we make known is our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, who was sent from God, ruler of all the world, maker and creator of every name that is named [...]; who is over the Cherubim, and who sits at the right hand of the throne of the Father; who by his word commanded the heavens and founded the earth and what is in it [...] (*EpAp* 3.1–2, 4–5)

And God the Son of God do we confess, the Word which became flesh of Mary, carried in her womb through the Holy Spirit. And not by the desire of the flesh but by the will of God was he born; and he was swaddled in Bethlehem, and manifested and nourished and grew up as we saw. (*EpAp* 3.13–15)

<sup>40</sup> *IGTh* 6.9. Text in Reidar Aasgaard, *The Childhood of Jesus: Decoding the Apocryphal Gospel of Thomas* (Eugene, OR: Cascade, 2009), 224. Aasgaard draws the Greek text from Codex Sabaiticus 259, an eleventh century manuscript in which the episode of the alphabet lesson has been much elaborated (19–22). Comparison with Irenaeus and *EpAp* indicates that an early version of the alpha/beta saying remains intact in late manuscripts.

<sup>41</sup> Text from Adelin Rousseau and Louis Doutreleau (ed.), *Irenée de Lyon, Contre les Hérésies, Livre I Tome 2* (SC 264, Paris: Cerf, 1979).

Christ is Alpha as the divine creator who is one with his Father in the work of creation, and he is Beta as the Word made flesh and born of Mary. If his teacher recognizes who he is in his present Beta form, he will be worthy to learn of his pre-existence as Alpha. Understood in this way, the alphabet story provides an important conceptual link between the confession and the miracle catena. In his Alpha capacity as creator, the Lord “restrained the sea so that it might not cross its boundary” (3.5). As Beta, the incarnate Lord walked on the Sea of Galilee and stilled its waves (5.13). As Alpha, the Lord “makes depths and springs gush forth and flow into the earth” (3.5). As Beta, he caused water become wine to gush forth at the wedding but stopped the flow of blood within the woman’s body (5.1, 3–7). While for Irenaeus the alphabet story is utterly false, for the author of *EpAp* it encapsulates his Christology.<sup>42</sup>

(2) The miracle catena continues with a brief summary of the Johannine water-into-wine story: “And then there was a wedding in Cana of Galilee, and they invited him with his mother and his brothers, and water he made wine” (*EpAp* 5.1).<sup>43</sup> The first phrase is closely related to John 2:1a, καὶ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ τρίτῃ γάμος ἐγένετο ἐν Κανὰ τῆς Γαλιλαίας. The third phrase, summarizing the miracle itself, corresponds exactly to John 4:46, ἐποίησεν τὸ ὕδωρ οἶνον.<sup>44</sup> However, the second phrase diverges from John 2:1b–2, καὶ ἦν ἡ μήτηρ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐκεῖ, ἐκλήθη δὲ καὶ οἱ Ἰησοῦς καὶ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ. In *EpAp* Jesus’ disciples are absent from this scene and their place is taken by his brothers, in spite of the emphasis on the disciples’ presence in the miracle catena as a whole (cf. *EpAp* 3.15; 5.4–5, 14–17). In John 2 Jesus is already accompanied by his first disciples (cf. Jn 1:35–51), and their presence at the wedding is necessary for the coherence of the narrative. In *EpAp* 5.1 the story of the wedding at Cana is self-con-

<sup>42</sup> That the author of *EpAp* can find theological content in his selected miracle stories is evident from his interpretation of the five loaves of the feeding miracle (5.20–21), on which see below. The alphabet story does not merely demonstrate “that Jesus is superior to all other teachers” (Hills, *Tradition* [n. 2], 51).

<sup>43</sup> “Water he made wine” (*EpAp* 5.1c) is followed in 5.2 by “and the dead he raised, and paralytics he made to walk, and for the man whose hand was withered he restored it”. Hills suggests that the reference to the wedding and the guest-list in 5.1ab is a later addition, the removal of which produces a structure of miracle story + four reports (4.1–3 + 5.1c–2) which is repeated in 5.3–8 + 9 (48–49, cf. 46). Hills overlooks the family context that links the alleged gloss to the preceding alphabet story, and argues unconvincingly that “his brothers” means “his disciples” (49).

<sup>44</sup> So rightly Hills, *The Epistle of the Apostles* [n. 1], 25.

tained and belongs to the period of Jesus' youth when he is still living with his family.<sup>45</sup>

That Jesus' brothers were among the wedding-guests in a pre-Johannine version of the story, but were later supplanted by his disciples, is suggested by the story's conclusion in John 2:12 as attested in 4<sup>th</sup>–5<sup>th</sup> century Greek, Latin, and Coptic witnesses.<sup>46</sup> Here, those who journey with Jesus from Cana to Capernaum after the wedding are his mother and brothers but not his disciples: μετὰ τοῦτο κατέβη εἰς Καφαρναοὺμ αὐτὸς καὶ ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκεῖ ἔμειναν οὐ πολλὰς ἡμέρας (x, cf. it<sup>a</sup> b<sup>e</sup>, cop<sup>ly</sup>). Among manuscripts that add the disciples here, there is difference of opinion about where to place them.

1a αὐτὸς καὶ ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ (x)<sup>47</sup>

1b ipse et mater eius et fratres [eius b] (it<sup>a</sup> b<sup>e</sup>)<sup>48</sup>

1c [ἰῆταϛ] ἡἱῆτεῖμααϛ ἡἱἡεῖςσηϛ (cop<sup>ly</sup>)<sup>49</sup>

2a αὐτὸς καὶ ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ <καὶ οἱ μαθηταὶ> αὐτοῦ (P<sup>66\*</sup> 75)

2b αὐτὸς καὶ ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ <καὶ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ> (P<sup>66c</sup> A)

3 αὐτὸς καὶ ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ <καὶ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ> καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ (K Π f<sup>13</sup>)

4 αὐτὸς καὶ <οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ> καὶ ἡ μήτηρ καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ (W<sup>sup</sup>)

The sequence of these readings from the 3<sup>rd</sup> to the 9<sup>th</sup> centuries shows how the disciples were introduced into a text from which they were previously absent, and subsequently promoted above Jesus' brothers and, in one case, even above his mother. In the form attested in Codices Sinaiticus, Vercellensis (a), Ver-

<sup>45</sup> EpAp 5.1 is rightly cited by Bultmann as confirmation that the disciples have displaced Jesus' brothers in the present text of John 2.1 (*John*, 114–15n).

<sup>46</sup> Without reference to the text-critical evidence, Wellhausen rightly notes that “nach 2,12 darf man vermuten, das οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ in Vers 2 für οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ eingesetzt sei” (Julius Wellhausen, *Das Evangelium Johannis* [Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1908], 13).

<sup>47</sup> The Greek textual evidence is conveniently presented in Reuben Swanson (ed.), *New Testament Greek Manuscripts. Variant Readings Arranged in Horizontal Lines against Codex Vaticanus* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, Pasadena: William Carey International University Press, 1995).

<sup>48</sup> Latin textual evidence in Adolf Jülicher (ed.), *Itala: Das Neue Testament in Altlateinischer Überlieferung, IV Johannes-Evangelium* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1963); P. H. Burton, J. Balserak, H. A. G. Houghton, D. Parker (ed.), *Vetus Latina, The Verbum Project: The Old Latin Manuscripts of John's Gospel* (2007), <http://www.iohannes.com/vetuslatina>

<sup>49</sup> Sir Herbert Thompson (ed.), *The Gospel of St. John according to the Earliest Coptic Manuscript* (London: British School of Archaeology in Egypt, 1924). The manuscript opens with the words from John 2.12 cited here, “[he] and his mother and his brothers” (xxii, 1, 53).



onensis (b), Palatinus (e), and the Coptic Qau Codex (ly), John 2:12 coheres with *EpAp* 5.1 as vestiges of a pre-Johannine version of the water-into-wine story.<sup>50</sup>

(3) The brief *EpAp* account of the wedding at Cana leads directly into a general summary of Jesus' miracle-working activity: "[...] and the water he made wine, and the dead he raised, and paralytics he made to walk, and for the man whose hand was withered he restored it" (5.2). The author is familiar with synoptic miracle stories and probably has in mind Jairus' daughter,<sup>51</sup> the paralytic let down through the roof,<sup>52</sup> and the Sabbath healing in the synagogue.<sup>53</sup> The last of these references still refers to an individual event, but the author sees the raising of the dead and the healing of paralytics as typical of Jesus' activities and refers to them in the plural. Thus the story of the haemorrhaging woman that follows is set against a broader background of restorative activity.

In the analysis below, redactional material introduced by the author of *EpAp* is italicized, and the relationship to synoptic versions is indicated for convenience by reference to the Eusebian canons (**II** Matthew–Mark–Luke, **V** Matthew–Luke, **VIII** Luke–Mark, **X**<sub>3</sub> Luke only).<sup>54</sup> The prominence of material shared by Luke and Mark (cf. Lk 8:43–48; Mk 5:25–34) is the result of Matthew's tendency to abbreviate the longer stories he inherits from Mark (cf. Mt 9:20–22).

"And a woman who suffered her periods twelve years touched <sup>v</sup>the hem of <sup>h</sup>his garment <sup>viii</sup>and was immediately well. *And as we considered and wondered at the glorious things he had done, <sup>viii</sup>he said to us, "Who touched me?" And we said to him, <sup>x</sup>"Lord, the press of the crowd touched you!" And he answered and said to us, "I felt that power came forth upon me." Immediately <sup>viii</sup>that woman came before him and answered him saying, "Lord, I touched you." And he answered and <sup>viii</sup>said to her, <sup>viii</sup>"Go, <sup>h</sup>your faith has made you well."*

Since Luke is present in all four categories of synoptic interrelation represented here (**II V VIII X**<sub>3</sub>), there is no evidence of "harmonization", or rather conflation. The distinction between (Lukan) tradition and redaction is thus straightforward,

<sup>50</sup> For a more elaborate attempt to find text-critical evidence for early Johannine text-forms, see Elizabeth Schrader, "Was Mary of Bethany added to the Fourth Gospel in the Second Century?," *HTR* 110 [2017], forthcoming).

<sup>51</sup> Mt 9:18–19, 23–26; Mk.5.22–24, 35–43; Lk 8.40–42, 49–56.

<sup>52</sup> Mt 9:1–8; Mk.2.1–12; Lk 5.17–26.

<sup>53</sup> Mt 12.9–14; Mk.3.1–6; Lk 6.6–11.

<sup>54</sup> On the Eusebian canons see Matthew R. Crawford, "Ammonius of Alexandria, Eusebius of Caesarea, and the Beginnings of Gospel Scholarship," *NTS* 61 (2015), 1–29; Anthony Grafton and Megan Williams, *Christianity and the Transformation of the Book* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), 194–98; Francis Watson, *The Fourfold Gospel: A Theological Reading of the New Testament Portraits of Jesus* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2016), 109–23.

and the redaction consists mainly in (i) the insertion of a passage in which the disciples testify to Jesus' miracle-working in general ("As we considered and wondered at the glorious things he had done") and (ii) the rewriting of the sequel to the healing as a dialogue between Jesus and the disciples ("he said to us [...]", "we said to him [...]", "And he answered and said to us [...]"). As a result, the woman's confession ("I touched you") answers a question actually addressed to the disciples ("Who touched me?").<sup>55</sup> Thus this passage initiates the dialogue format that predominates in this work as a whole. Also to be noted is the reference to power coming upon Jesus from above, rather than going from him; it is however textually uncertain.<sup>56</sup>

One general statement about Jesus' miracle-working immediately precedes the story of the haemorrhaging woman (5.2), another occurs in first person form within it (5.4), and yet another follows it: "And then the deaf he made to hear and the blind to see and those with demons he exorcized and those with leprosy he cleansed" (5.9). The point is to suggest that the seven events narrated in the miracle catena are a selection from a much wider range.<sup>57</sup> A similar point was made in the conclusion of the Johannine signs source: "Many other signs Jesus performed before his disciples that are not written in this book [...]" (Jn 20:31; cf. the imitation of this passage in the Johannine "Longer Ending" at 21:25). In both the signs source and the miracle catena, the presence of the disciples as witnesses is emphasized.

(4) The next individual story is that of "the demon Legion" (cf. Mt 8:28–34; Mk 5:1–20; Lk 8:26–39). Here a distinctively Matthean element emerges for the first time in the miracle catena (X<sub>1</sub>):

*And the demon*<sup>viii</sup> Legion, who dwelt in a man, <sup>ii</sup>met Jesus and cried out and said, <sup>x</sup>"Before the day of our destruction have you come to drive us out?" *And the Lord Jesus rebuked him*

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55 Contra Hills (*Tradition* [n. 2], 55), there is no more need to find an anti-docetic polemic here than in the synoptic versions of this story.

56 That there are redactional elements in the catena is denied by M. Hornschuh: "Vergleicht man den vorliegenden Abriss der synoptischen Wunder mit den kanonischen Darstellungen, so sieht man, dass der Verfasser auf eine knappe, das Wesentliche zusammenfassende Art der Darstellung bedacht ist, um schnell zu den Fragen und Themen überzugehen, um die es ihm eigentlich geht. So hätte der Verfasser also den Zusatz kaum geboten, wenn er ihn nicht in irgendeiner Quelle – es kann aber auch eine mündliche Tradition gewesen sein – vorgefunden hätte" (Manfred Hornschuh, *Studien zur Epistula Apostolorum*, PTS 5 [Berlin: de Gruyter, 1965], 11). It is, however, implausible to postulate a source on the basis of the author's lack of interest in its contents.

57 On this view, the list-passages are supplementary to the narratives. For the opposite view, which is that the author has redacted and expanded a source listing miracles or miracle-types, see Hills, *Tradition* (n. 2), 48–50.

and said to him, “Go out of this man and do nothing to him!” And he <sup>11</sup>“went into the pigs and plunged them <sup>12</sup>into the sea, and they were drowned. (*EpAp* 5.10–12)

Here conflation or assimilation has taken place, although on a very small scale: the name “Legion” occurs in Luke (and Mark) but not in Matthew, while the demon’s anticipation of final judgment is exclusively Matthean. The conflation should not be seen as a “harmonization”, negotiating the difference between two or more sources of acknowledged canonical authority.<sup>58</sup> The incorporation here of distinctively Matthean and Lukan elements into the new version of the story is comparable to Luke’s incorporation of Matthean elements into the opening of his Mark-based retelling of the story of the paralytic: Luke follows Matthew in introducing the story with ἰδοὺ and in having the paralyzed man brought ἐπὶ κλίνης (Lk 5:18, Mt 9:2; cf. Mk 2:3).<sup>59</sup> Luke “knows” Mark and Matthew just as the author of *EpAp* “knows” Luke and Matthew, but knowledge and use of a text need not entail recognition of its established canonical authority. In this case, the relative independence of the *EpAp* version of the Legion story is more apparent than its dependence on earlier versions.

(5) The sequel to the demon-possessed pigs drowning in the sea is that Jesus walks on the sea, underlining his triumph over the demon Legion by trampling on his grave. The introductory “And then” links this episode to the preceding one:

And he [Legion] went into the pigs and plunged them into the sea, and they were drowned. And then he [Jesus] walked on the sea, and the winds blew and he rebuked them, and the waves of the sea were still. (*EpAp* 5.12–13)

In the canonical gospels Jesus’ walking on water is accompanied by a wind strong enough to make rowing difficult (Mk 6:48; Jn 6:18) and the waves threatening (Mt 14:24). The wind ceased when Jesus entered the boat (Mt 14:32; Mk 6:51). Alternatively, the boat arrives instantly at its destination (Jn 6:21). The *EpAp* passage introduces the motif of Jesus’ rebuke, which also occurs in the syn-

<sup>58</sup> That the author’s undoubted knowledge of Matthew and Luke does not amount to recognition of their canonical authority is rightly pointed out by Hornschuh, *Studien* (n. 56), 9, 12.

<sup>59</sup> On this “minor agreement”, see Mark S. Goodacre, *The Case Against Q: Studies in Markan Priority and the Synoptic Problem* (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: TPI, 2002), 156–57. Luke subsequently reduces the Matthean κλινή (a substantial piece of furniture, under which one might in principle place a lamp) to a κλινίδιον (Lk 5:19) when faced with the problem – posed by Mark but absent from Matthew – of getting it lowered through a hole in the roof.

optic stilling of the storm narrative – where, however, the rebuke is addressed to both winds and waves (Mt 8:26; Mk 4:39; Lk 8:24).

(6) Absent from the previous two episodes, the disciples reappear in the story that follows (cf. Mt 17:24–27):

And when we his disciples had no denarii, we said to him, “Teacher, what shall we do about the tax-collector?” And he answered and said to us, “Let one of you <sup>x1</sup>cast a hook into the deep and draw out a fish, and he will find denarii in it. Give them to the tax-collector for myself and for you [pl.]” (*EpAp* 5.14–16)

In the Matthean version, tax-collectors ask Peter whether the Teacher pays tax, to which Peter answers in the affirmative. Jesus is aware of this conversation, and claims on theological grounds that he and his disciples are in principle exempt from taxation. The production of the coin-bearing fish is a concession intended to prevent any trouble. In the *EpAp* version Peter is replaced by the collective “we” that was earlier prominent in the story of the haemorrhaging woman. It is again emphasized that knowledge of the events of Jesus’ ministry is dependent on the disciples’ collective testimony.

(7) The final episode in the miracle catena contributes a fifth account of the feeding to the four contained in the canonical gospels (I: Mt 14:13–21; Mk 6:30–44; Lk 9:10–17; Jn 6:1–13). As we have seen, the author of *EpAp* has already shown his independence of his sources by detaching its Matthean, Markan, and Johannine sequel – Jesus’ walking on the water – and connecting it to the story of Legion.

Then when we had no food except <sup>l</sup>five loaves and two fishes, he commanded the men to recline. And their number was found to be <sup>x1</sup>five thousand besides children and women, and to these we brought pieces of bread. <sup>u</sup>And they were satisfied, and there was some left over, and we <sup>v</sup>removed <sup>l</sup>twelve basketfuls of pieces. If we ask, “What do these five loaves mean?”, they are an image of our faith as true Christians; that is, in the Father, ruler of the whole world, and in Jesus Christ, and in the Holy Spirit, and in the holy church, and in the forgiveness of sins. (*EpAp* 5.17–21)<sup>60</sup>

This interpretation of the five loaves may be compared with that of Origen, for whom the five loaves represent the five senses and thus the plain meaning of scripture, while the two fishes represent the two sides of the spiritual sense, expressed in scripture and immanent within the divine mind. Alternatively, the two fishes are the word of the Father and the Son.<sup>61</sup> Earlier analogies to *EpAp*’s in-

<sup>60</sup> For the translation, “true Christians”, cf. Hills, *Tradition* (n. 2), 62–64.

<sup>61</sup> Origen, *Schol. Matt.* 11.2.

terpretation of the five loaves may be found in Irenaeus's summaries of Valentinian expositions of gospel passages as referring to heavenly realities. In one such exposition, the haemorrhaging woman represents the erring aeon Sophia, who risked dissolution by striving for union with the unknown Father, and who was healed from her passion by touching the garment of the Son (Aletheia, consort of Monogenes) and by the power that went out from him (Horos).<sup>62</sup> Irenaeus later remarks sarcastically on the lack of a correlate to the five loaves in the Valentinian *pleroma*, expressing his disdain for this method of exegesis – although he practises something very similar himself when he links the fourfold gospel to the four living creatures around the divine throne.<sup>63</sup> Like Origen and Irenaeus but unlike the Valentinians, the author of *EpAp* believes that there are just three primary occupants of the heavenly realms, the Father, the Son, and the Spirit. The five loaves fulfil their symbolic intent with the addition of the holy church and the forgiveness of sins.

Thus the catena reaches its climax in a miracle that contains within itself the sum total of Christian faith, a *regula fidei* reduced to a minimum. A certain analogy may be seen with the dogmatic content of the first story, where the child Christ is the incarnate form (Beta) of the eternal creative word (Alpha). If so, the rule of faith places the christological claim in a larger context that encompasses the heavenly community of Father, Son, and Spirit as well as the earthly community of the holy church, where there occurs the forgiveness of sins. It is the number of the loaves that lies at the heart of this symbolism, rather than the bread itself as in the Johannine parallel. In the Johannine version of the story there are “five barley loaves”, πέντε ἄρτους κριθίνους (Jn 6:9, cf. v. 13), but as its interpretation gets under way the plural loaves (“[...] you ate from the loaves and were satisfied”, Jn 6:26) are replaced by the singular “food” (βρώσις, v. 27) and then by the scriptural reference to “the bread from heaven” (v. 31) that is finally identified with Jesus himself: “I am the bread of life [...]” (v. 35).

In *EpAp*, in contrast, Jesus is represented not by the totality of the bread but by just one loaf among the five. This interpretation of the story directs us not to an all-important encounter with a single life-giving object but to a more spacious field marked out by a plurality of co-ordinates. Thus the collective apostolic authors establish their status both as participants in the event and as guarantors of proto-orthodox faith.

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<sup>62</sup> Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* 1.3.3.

<sup>63</sup> Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* 2.24.4; 3.11.8.



Daniel A. Smith

# Marcion's Gospel and the Synoptics:

## Proposals and Problems

### 1 Introduction

To be sure, any proposal to include Marcion's Gospel as a factor in the Synoptic Problem will be beset with problems, although this could never be an option for anyone who believes, as Irenaeus, Tertullian, and many others since then have claimed, that Marcion's Gospel (hereafter, MLk) is the direct descendent of Canonical Luke (hereafter, CLk), an abridged Luke, the product of Marcion's own editorial ("mutilating") hand.<sup>1</sup> Of course, there is a long history of scholarly debate whether or not this in fact was the case: recent forays into this matter have once again questioned the claim that Marcion had a well-defined editorial plan, according to which he deleted material from Luke, and have renewed on this and other grounds the argument in favor of the priority of MLk over CLk, or at least the independence of MLk from CLk.<sup>2</sup> As this essay will show, recent attempts to situate MLk within a solution to the Synoptic Problem tend to fail for two main reasons: either they assume that Marcion can solve everything, and position MLk unconvincingly at the origin of the literary gospel tradition as "the oldest gospel," a mid-second-century *Urquelle* of all four canonical gospels; or, they fail to take adequate account of the details, the data with which Synoptic scholars have been wrestling for over three centuries, complicated

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1 Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* 1.27.2; Tertullian, *Adv. Marc.* 4.2.4; Epiphanius, *Pan.* 42.9.1–2. In this essay, "MLk" is meant to refer to the recension of Luke associated with Marcion (but not to a particular contemporary reconstruction), and "CLk" either to the recension of Luke known to the heresiologists, and/or established by textual criticism today (=NA28). Thanks are due to Jacob Shaw, for help checking the attestation statistics in the Appendices.

2 See Matthias Klinghardt, "Markion vs. Lukas: Plädoyer für die Wiederaufnahme eines alten Falles," *NTS* 52 (2006): 484–513; Jason BeDuhn, "The Myth of Marcion as Redactor: The Evidence of 'Marcion's' Gospel against an Assumed Marcionite Redaction," *Annali di Storia dell'Esegesi* 29 (2012): 21–48. See also the comments of Judith Lieu, "Marcion and the Synoptic Problem," in *New Studies in the Synoptic Problem, Oxford Conference April 2008: Essays in Honour of Christopher M. Tuckett*, ed. Paul Foster et al. (BETL 239; Leuven: Peeters, 2011), 731–51 (739–44); and also the very useful summaries of scholarship in Dieter T. Roth, "Marcion's Gospel and Luke: The History of Research in Current Debate," *JBL* 177 (2008): 513–27; and Roth, *The Text of Marcion's Gospel* (NTTSD 49; Leiden: Brill, 2015).

once again by Marcion's Gospel. This paper will attempt to highlight both problems as they are found in recent proposals, as well as to clarify some of the details that must be accounted for in these discussions.

Drawing attention to the new contours of gospel scholarship, in which “perhaps it is easier to speak of uncertainty and fluidity than of solutions,” Judith Lieu notes that seven points “mark the new map” of the relationship between Marcion's Gospel and the Synoptics.<sup>3</sup> (1) Given the vagaries involved in reconstructing the text of MLk, “any hypothesis can claim to be nothing more than a hypothesis.” (2) It is difficult to maintain any longer the claim that MLk originated from “an ideologically motivated exercise in excision and modification” of CLk, and (3) the opposite theory, that CLk is a revision of MLk, especially an anti-Marcionite revision, is equally problematic. These two points will be explored in this essay. (4) “A mediating position” – that Marcion did use (and redact) an earlier recension of Luke – is attractive, although (5) it seems unlikely that Marcion chose Luke from among the four that later became canonical. Lieu also reminds us (6) that the gospels in the second century were characterized by fluidity, not fixedness, and that a dynamic model is more historically accurate than models that assume the gospels were “fixed literary blocks” whose development and influence can be accurately tracked. This sixth point is borne out in recent work on scholarly presuppositions about fixed “original” or “final” editions, particularly in relation to the vicissitudes of the “publication” of texts in antiquity.<sup>4</sup> Along these lines, Lieu comments:

Both at the macro- and at the micro-level any solution to the origins of Marcion's ‘Gospel’ – or indeed of all Gospel relationships – that presupposes relatively fixed and stable written texts, edited through a careful process of comparison, excision, or addition, and reorganisation, seems doomed to become mired in a tangle of lines of direct or indirect dependency, which are increasingly difficult to envisage in practice. Marcion's ‘Gospel’ is to be located in the midst of these multiple trends.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Lieu, “Marcion and the Synoptic Problem” (n. 2), 746. Lieu notes that an important feature of current scholarship is “more inclusive reconstructions of the literary as well as of the social history of early Christianity and its texts,” in which it is no longer assumed that heresy (and its texts) developed after orthodoxy (and its texts).

<sup>4</sup> See most recently Matthew D. C. Larsen, “Accidental Publication, Unfinished Texts, and the Traditional Goals of New Testament Textual Criticism,” *JSNT* 39 (2017): 362–87, and the secondary literature cited therein. Larsen surveys ancient literary evidence concerning accidental publication, post-publication revision, and multiple authorized versions of the same work.

<sup>5</sup> Judith M. Lieu, *Marcion and the Making of a Heretic: God and Scripture in the Second Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 208–9.



To be sure, however, comparison, excision, addition, and reorganization must have occurred, given the fact of the different “editions” (or, perhaps “iterations” is better) of Luke – even if a “fixed and stable” original or initial text is out of reach. Finally, Lieu observes that (7) questions about the relationship between MLk and CLk cannot be separated from questions about the origin(s) of Luke-Acts.<sup>6</sup> In the end, she concludes that “Marcion’s Gospel should continue to contribute to debates about the Synoptic Problem.”<sup>7</sup>

Despite this conclusion, the sixth point above might seem reason enough not to go any further: how can the relation of MLk to the Synoptics, or indeed the Synoptic Problem quite apart from Marcion, ever be “solved,” if in fact the gospels cannot be regarded as “fixed” enough in the second century for their relationships to be studied? Ultimately, however, we have certain literary data and phenomena that require explanation, and the various hypotheses that are advanced to explain them are open to critical discussion and evaluation. This being the case, it is fitting to begin this study with Lieu’s observations and warnings in mind.

The essay has four parts. The first part assesses briefly the three recent reconstructions of MLk by Jason BeDuhn, Matthias Klinghardt, and Dieter Roth.<sup>8</sup> The second section revisits the question whether CLk or MLk is the earlier form of Luke, with observations concerning five different arguments in favor of MLk being prior to (though not necessarily the direct source of) CLk. The third section addresses the proposal of Matthias Klinghardt and Markus Vinzent that MLk is “the oldest gospel,” the *Urquelle*, with special attention to the question of the relative priority of Mark and MLk.<sup>9</sup> A close reading of Mark 16:1–8 and Luke 24:1–12 will test Klinghardt’s *Arbeitshypothese* (“working hypothesis”) of Markan dependence on MLk.<sup>10</sup> The fourth and final section deals briefly with the question of the limits of Q in a scenario in which, as BeDuhn and others propose, MLk is seen as a kind of relic of an early edition of Luke, in which Mark and Q were already combined.

<sup>6</sup> Lieu, “Marcion and the Synoptic Problem” (n. 2), 746–51.

<sup>7</sup> Lieu, “Marcion and the Synoptic Problem” (n. 2), 751.

<sup>8</sup> Jason D. BeDuhn, *The First New Testament: Marcion’s Scriptural Canon* (Salem, OR: Polebridge, 2013); Matthias Klinghardt, *Das älteste Evangelium und die Entstehung der kanonischen Evangelien* (TANZ 60/1–2; Tübingen: Francke, 2015); Roth, *Marcion’s Gospel* (n. 2).

<sup>9</sup> See Markus Vinzent, *Marcion and the Dating of the Synoptic Gospels* (Studia Patristica Supplements 2; Leuven: Peeters, 2014); Klinghardt, *Das älteste Evangelium* (n. 8).

<sup>10</sup> Klinghardt, *Das älteste Evangelium* (n. 8), 1:195: “Als Arbeitshypothese ist daher davon auszugehen, dass Mk die erste Bearbeitung dieses mutmaßlich ältesten Evangeliums darstellt” (emphasis original).

## 2 Which Marcion's Gospel?

The problems associated with reconstructing MLk are well known. The task is complicated chiefly by the variations in citation style of the heresiologists, whose own polemical tendencies and unconscious harmonizations introduce a significant amount of uncertainty. In addition, Roth observes that previous attempts at reconstructing Marcion's scriptures, most notably that of Adolf von Harnack, often introduced an element of bias into the process of reconstruction by assuming Marcionite excision in instances where the text is unattested by the heresiologists – even though Harnack himself stated he was determined to avoid this kind of speculation, which he claimed plagued earlier scholarship.<sup>11</sup> A second methodological weakness in past attempts to reconstruct MLk, notes Roth, is the lack of attention to the patterns of Scripture citation in the heresiologists.<sup>12</sup> This is important not only because there might be variation among multiple citations of MLk by (for example) Tertullian, but also because how he cites CLk in one place (for example, with harmonization to Matthew) might influence how he cites MLk in another. Along these lines, both Roth and BeDuhn advocate the methodological principles employed by Ulrich Schmid in his reconstruction of Marcion's Pauline corpus, namely, first “to see appeals to Marcionite tendency banned from any serious reconstruction of the Marcionite text,” and second, “[to] screen our sources for the Marcionite text against themselves in order to better understand their theological agendas and rhetorical strategies.”<sup>13</sup> The three recent reconstructions are all, it would seem, more sophisticated than past attempts, but they all have distinctive methodological tendencies that produce, in some cases, significantly different results.

BeDuhn's reconstruction, which was the first of the three to appear (2013), presents not a Greek text but an English translation, in part to make the reconstruction accessible to a wider readership, but also “to signal that it should be considered an approximation of the original.”<sup>14</sup> BeDuhn lists five principles

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11 Roth, *Marcion's Gospel* (n. 2), 25; Adolf v. Harnack, *Marcion: Das Evangelium vom fremden Gott* (2. Aufl.; TU 45; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1924), 65 n. 1.

12 Roth, *Marcion's Gospel* (n. 2), 27 (discussing Harnack).

13 Ulrich Schmid, “How Can We Access Second Century Gospel Texts? The Cases of Marcion and Tatian,” in *The New Testament Text in Early Christianity: Proceedings of the Lille Colloquium, July 2003*, ed. Christian B. Amphoux and James K. Elliott (Lausanne: Éditions du Zèbre, 2003), 139–50 (149); see also Ulrich Schmid, *Marcion und sein Apostolos: Rekonstruktion und historische Einordnung der marcionitischen Paulusbriefausgabe* (ANTF 25; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1995), 26–29; BeDuhn, *First New Testament* (n. 8), 48; Roth, *Marcion's Gospel* (n. 2), 79–81.

14 BeDuhn, *First New Testament* (n. 8), 53.

for his reconstruction.<sup>15</sup> (1) "Include in any passage to which our sources refer, however allusively, only those elements of each passage the source explicitly mentions." Certainty is increased in instances where MLk differs from CLk as cited by the witnesses elsewhere. (2) "Resolve or explain any apparent contradictions in the sources, either to the inclusion of a passage or to its wording." Distinctive phrasing not found in CLk is printed in italics "and may be distinctive to the Marcionite edition." (3) "Omit passages expressly stated to have been lacking in Marcion's text." (4) "Omit passages unattested in our sources." If unattested passages correspond to known omissions in the textual tradition of CLk, the relative probability of their absence from MLk may be assessed; these assessments are given only in the chapter endnotes and not in the main text. Appeals to any purported editorial agenda of Marcion are disallowed.<sup>16</sup> (5) "Retain [in plain type in brackets] connective content necessary for the directly attested material to have coherent meaning." In one exceptional case, he tentatively reconstructs an unattested section, presented in square brackets, because of its presence in P<sup>69</sup>, which he believes may be "a manuscript fragment of the Evangelion."<sup>17</sup>

Roth's reconstruction (2015) produces a Greek text, but he is very clear that it is not a "supposed 'original text' of Marcion's Gospel," but rather "the most accurate possible reconstruction ... based upon the attestation of the sources that contain the evidence for the readings found in it."<sup>18</sup> Roth follows a similar methodology to that of BeDuhn; however, he scrutinizes more rigorously the citation habits of the witnesses to MLk, comparing individual citations of the Marcionite text with citations of the canonical text elsewhere in each author's corpus, and accounting for adaptation to the authors' own preferred language and style.<sup>19</sup> Like BeDuhn he does not invoke "Marcion's theological tendencies ... in the evaluation of a source's testimony" and takes full account of the text-critical data for

<sup>15</sup> The following discussion, with citations, is based on BeDuhn, *First New Testament* (n. 8), 54–55.

<sup>16</sup> However, BeDuhn also states: "While we do not know enough about Marcion's motives to hypothesize fruitfully about the likelihood that unattested material was actually absent, we do know the motives of our anti-Marcionite sources well enough to draw reasonable conclusions about the probable absence of a passage that would have served their polemical purposes, if it had been present in Marcion's text" (BeDuhn, *First New Testament* [n. 8], 55).

<sup>17</sup> The passage is MLk 22:54–61, which is partially unattested by the heresiologists. See BeDuhn, *First New Testament* (n. 8), 124–5, 188–9; citation *ibid.*, 53. See further Claire Clivaz, "The Angel and the Sweat Like 'Drops of Blood,' (Luke 22:43–44): P<sup>69</sup> and f<sup>13</sup>," *HTR* 98 (2005): 419–40; BeDuhn also promises a contribution on the topic (*First New Testament* [n. 8], 341 n. 73).

<sup>18</sup> Roth, *Marcion's Gospel* (n. 2), 4.

<sup>19</sup> Roth, *Marcion's Gospel* (n. 2), 79–80.

CLk and its Synoptic parallels.<sup>20</sup> Roth also omits unattested verses, but unlike BeDuhn he resists making any judgments about the presence or absence of anything unattested for MLk. Roth produces a Greek reconstruction that highlights levels of certainty for individual wordings with different font types. This running reconstruction, given at the end of the volume, is very useful for determining quickly what is attested, unattested, or attested as absent, and the nature of the evidence.

Klinghardt's reconstruction (also 2015) is by far the most tendentious of the three. Like Roth, he prints a reconstruction that shows different levels of certainty and of attestation in different fonts.<sup>21</sup> Although he states that a precise text is out of reach,<sup>22</sup> Klinghardt does print all of CLk in passages where there is no attestation (as "vermutlich vorhanden"), even conjecturing at times that certain wordings of CLk were not present in MLk ("wahrscheinlich nicht vorhanden"), where there is no testimony one way or the other apart from variant readings.<sup>23</sup> Typically, Klinghardt tends to reconstruct MLk following variants for CLk, even when this contradicts the direct attestation (or lack thereof) of the heresiologists. As Lieu remarks, "it has long been recognized that many of the 'distinctive' readings or 'alterations' credited to Marcion are witnessed elsewhere in the textual tradition, particularly, but not exclusively or consistently, in the so-called Western text."<sup>24</sup> However, Klinghardt proceeds as though the Western text in all of its individual witnesses reproduces MLk consistently: the affinities between MLk as attested and variant readings for CLk – especially Western readings, in both the Old Latin and the Old Syriac traditions – warrant in his view a straightforward acceptance of these readings as original to MLk, even in cases where a single witness varies, as it were, from the dominant Western testimony, and even against the attestation of Tertullian and the other witnesses.<sup>25</sup> In these cases, he often

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<sup>20</sup> Roth, *Marcion's Gospel* (n. 2), 81–82.

<sup>21</sup> See Klinghardt, *Das älteste Evangelium* (n. 8), 2:450–53 for description.

<sup>22</sup> "Allerdings erlauben die häresiologischen Referate keine gleichermaßen vollständige und genaue Rekonstruktion: Dazu sind die Zeugnisse zu lückenhaft und zu widersprüchlich" (Klinghardt, *Das älteste Evangelium* [n. 8], 2:449).

<sup>23</sup> Klinghardt, *Das älteste Evangelium* (n. 8), 2:452 and throughout the reconstruction: some material is presented as "durch die Häresiologen unbezeugt, aber vermutlich vorhanden," but other material as "unbezeugt, [aber] wahrscheinlich in [MLk] nicht vorhanden."

<sup>24</sup> Lieu, *Marcion* (n. 5), 204.

<sup>25</sup> See Klinghardt, *Das älteste Evangelium* (n. 8), 1:93–113 for the results of his survey of the text-critical issues; see further 1:73–78 for his estimation of the importance of the Western text for reconstructing MLk. By Klinghardt's count, nearly two-thirds of MLk readings that diverge from CLk are also found in one or more Western witnesses (329 out of 528; *ibid.*, 1:73).

claims that the copies of MLk they used had already been corrupted by the canonical text.<sup>26</sup> All this is part and parcel of his “methodological premise” that MLk is “the oldest gospel”: its relics can be detected in variants for canonical Luke (even in single witnesses), and CLk becomes the later catholic revision that subsequently exerts an influence on the transmission of MLk, corrupting the copies used by the heresiologists. Finally, as will be seen below, because Klinghardt’s “working hypothesis” is that MLk was the first gospel, there are instances in which the evidence that his reconstruction produces seem both to derive from as well as support his theory of gospel relationships.

With all this in view, a sensible way to proceed is to work with the reconstructions of both Roth and BeDuhn, consulting Klinghardt for comparison of results. Marcion’s Gospel, as reconstructed, remains incomplete, but there is enough coherence to the evidence at least to allow some explorations to be undertaken and some hypotheses to be tested.

### 3 Ein älteres Evangelium?

Obviously, situating Marcion’s Gospel in the Synoptic Problem is neither necessary nor possible for those who think, like some early Christian authors did, that Marcion edited canonical Luke. However, general observations about the shape of MLk militate against this view, when taken together, and suggest that MLk is the more primitive of the two. First, there is the long-standing problem that if Marcion had edited CLk in order to produce an MLk more congenial to his theology, he apparently did not do so either consistently or successfully.<sup>27</sup> Second, some of the material found in CLk but not in MLk – mostly *Sondergut*, especially at the beginning and end of Luke – seems to have the character of secondary additions. For some scholars, including Klinghardt but also Joseph Tyson, John Knox, and others before them, the additional material in CLk points to an anti-Marcionite redaction.<sup>28</sup> Third, disproportionately more *Sondergut* is attested as absent from MLk than other material (Triple Tradition, Double Tradition),

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But one suspects that includes not only readings for MLk attested in the ancient witnesses, but also Lukan variant readings claimed by Klinghardt as the original wording of MLk.

<sup>26</sup> Klinghardt, *Das älteste Evangelium* (n. 8), 1:80–84.

<sup>27</sup> Klinghardt, “Markion vs. Lukas” (n. 2); BeDuhn, “The Myth of Marcion as Redactor” (n. 2).

<sup>28</sup> Klinghardt, *Das älteste Evangelium* (n. 8), 1:175–97 (summary); John Knox, *Marcion and the New Testament: An Essay in the Early History of the Canon* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942), 163; Joseph Tyson, *Marcion and Luke-Acts: A Defining Struggle* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2006), 119–20 (summary).

which might suggest that it was not singled out for deletion by Marcion, but added at a later stage in Luke's development.<sup>29</sup> Fourth, according to BeDuhn, a significant proportion of the so-called "minor agreements" (of Matthew and Luke against Mark in the Triple Tradition) are missing from MLk; this might suggest not only that many of them originated as "secondary scribal harmonizations [to Matthew] that have no bearing on the relationship among the original compositions," but also that MLk had been subjected to fewer of these harmonizations and might represent an earlier recension of Luke than CLk, or at least a different recension.<sup>30</sup> Finally, though more dubiously, Vinzent proposes that Marcion's own thoughts concerning "his gospel" can be discerned behind Tertullian's polemic, and once these thoughts are reassembled, we can see the history of the origin of MLk and the canonical gospels which were all composed later.<sup>31</sup> All of these issues are complex, and scholars have taken them to indicate either that MLk is the direct ancestor text of CLk (a view that BeDuhn traces to Albert Schwegeler), or that MLk is the more primitive sibling of CLk, in which case both derive from a common *Vorlage* (a view BeDuhn associates first of all with Johann Salomo Semler).<sup>32</sup>

To the first point, concerning the lack of a coherent editorial program on Marcion's part on the traditional view that Marcion edited CLk, the arguments most commonly advanced have to do with content. As BeDuhn states, "passages are missing from Marcion's text for no obvious ideological reason, and passages remain in his text that contradict his ideology."<sup>33</sup> If Marcion had edited CLk to produce a gospel more in keeping with his own theology, he obviously erred in omitting some material that would have been congenial to his views. The clas-

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**29** See the appendices to this essay, especially Appendix 6: of the 287 verses attested by the heresiologists as absent from MLk, 220 or about 77% are Sondergut. See also Knox, *Marcion and the New Testament* (n. 28), 107–8, whose calculations are somewhat different from my own; Tyson, *Marcion and Luke-Acts* (n. 28), 86–87, who calculates (based on Harnack's reconstruction) that MLk contains about 70% of the Lukan material with parallels in Matthew and/or Mark, but only about 40% of the material peculiar to Luke (these percentages exclude uncertain or unattested passages); for specifics, see my Appendix 1. See also Lieu, *Marcion* (n. 5), 201–2.

**30** BeDuhn, *First New Testament* (n. 8), 93.

**31** Markus Vinzent, *Christ's Resurrection in Early Christianity and the Making of the New Testament* (Farnham; Burlington VT: Ashgate, 2011), 86–92; idem, *Marcion and the Dating of the Synoptic Gospels* (n. 9), 89–107; idem, "Marcion's Gospel and the Beginnings of Christianity," *Annali di Storia dell'Esegesi* 32 (2015): 55–87.

**32** BeDuhn, *First New Testament* (n. 8), 78–92; Albert Schwegeler, *Das nachapostolische Zeitalter in den Hauptmomenten seiner Entwicklung* (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1977 [1846]), 1:260–84; Johann Salomo Semler, "Vorrede," in *Thomas Townsons Abhandlungen über die vier Evangelien* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1783).

**33** BeDuhn, "The Myth of Marcion as Redactor" (n. 2), 30.

sic example is the Parable of the Prodigal Son (CLk 15:11–32), whose loving, accepting, forgiving father stands in well for the God whom according to Marcion Jesus came to announce (as presented by his detractors).<sup>34</sup> Conversely, Marcion also seems to have left in material that contradicts some of the views attributed to him. In one famous passage, Tertullian accuses Marcion of leaving in his purportedly expurgated Luke material that one would have thought he should have omitted, with the insidious purpose of giving the impression that he had not left anything out at all (*Adv. Marc.* 4.43.7).<sup>35</sup> BeDuhn shows that several features of Marcion's editorial program, as described by Robert M. Grant and Sebastian Moll, are contradicted by material that is attested as present in MLk.<sup>36</sup> Finally, it should not be overlooked that none of Marcion's later detractors thought that he added anything to Luke: for example, as BeDuhn notes, "only one God is mentioned in the Evangelion; nothing is said of a distinct demiurge responsible for this world, as found in Marcionite belief."<sup>37</sup> This is remarkable in an era in which other gospels were being added to, especially at their conclusions (for example, Mark 16:9–20; John 21). Nevertheless, as will be seen below, it is very likely that Marcion edited his text (by deletion) in certain instances.

Second, as to the originality of the beginning and conclusion of CLk, Lieu notes that "the infancy accounts ... have long been identified as distinctive in style, and as largely self-contained, demonstrating little continuity with the narrative that follows."<sup>38</sup> Even Joseph Fitzmyer, who argued that the author of Luke wrote the infancy narratives, believed that they were a secondary addition: "it seems obvious that 3:1–2 was once a formal introduction to the work."<sup>39</sup> At

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<sup>34</sup> Lieu, *Marcion* (n. 5), 202.

<sup>35</sup> The passage is MLk 24:39, which reads as follows: ἴδετε τὰς χεῖράς μου καὶ τοὺς πόδας μου ὅτι [ἐγὼ εἰμι αὐτός· ὅτι] πνεῦμα ὅστέα οὐκ ἔχει καθὼς ἐμὲ θεωρεῖτε ἔχοντα: "See my hands and my feet, that [it is I myself; because] a spirit does not have bones as you see that I have." The bracketed words have divergent testimony in the heresiologists; BeDuhn and Roth include them, but Klinghardt does not. For discussion, see BeDuhn, *First New Testament* (n. 8), 197; Klinghardt, *Das älteste Evangelium* (n. 8), 2:1152; Roth, *Marcion's Gospel* (n. 2), 183–4.

<sup>36</sup> See BeDuhn, "The Myth of Marcion as Redactor" (n. 2), 30–32, responding to R. M. Grant, *The Letter and the Spirit* (London: SPCK, 1957), 115–19, and Sebastian Moll, *The Arch-Heretic Marcion* (WUNT 250; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 92–98. Both Grant and Moll develop "rules" that governed Marcion's purported editorial schema.

<sup>37</sup> BeDuhn, *First New Testament* (n. 8), 72.

<sup>38</sup> Lieu, *Marcion* (n. 5), 202.

<sup>39</sup> Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke* (AB 28–28A; New York: Doubleday, 1981, 1985), 1:310, affirming Lukan authorship against Hans Conzelmann, *The Theology of St Luke* (New York: Harper & Row, 1961), 118, 172.



least one ancient source testifies to a similar opinion. A passage of uncertain origin, appended to Ephrem's Commentary on the Diatessaron, states that "Luke began with the baptism of John."<sup>40</sup> Although impossible to evaluate, this outlying opinion nevertheless should not be overlooked. Both Tyson and Klinghardt argue that Luke 1–2 were added as part of an anti-Marcionite redaction, Tyson noting that "it would be difficult to imagine a more directly anti-Marcionite narrative than what we have in Luke 1:5–2:52," given the emphases on "the human birth of Jesus, his Jewish connections, his fulfillment of Jewish expectations, and the role of the prophets in predicting his coming."<sup>41</sup> Klinghardt himself points to certain features of the Lukan prologue (Luke 1:1–4) which he thinks are anti-Marcionite and which connect CLk with Acts.<sup>42</sup> Whether Tyson and Klinghardt are correct to discern this polemical motivation in the material, and indeed whether the distinctive features they observe in Luke 1–2 are indeed borne out by stylistic and vocabularic study, are questions beyond the scope of this essay.

The conclusions of MLk and CLk also show some interesting differences. In a recent article on Luke 24, I discussed several features of CLk, not found in MLk, which suggest that the canonical version is the more developed form of Luke.<sup>43</sup> The clues are slender, however, and this is not uncontroversial. One such clue is the curious silence of Tertullian and Epiphanius on the notoriously difficult verse 12, which reads, Ὁ δὲ Πέτρος ἀναστὰς ἔδραμεν ἐπὶ τὸ μνημεῖον καὶ παρακύψας βλέπει τὰ ὀθόνια μόνα, καὶ ἀπῆλθεν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν θαυμάζων τὸ γεγονός (and which shows some interesting verbatim agreements with John 20:3–5, 10). As is well known, this is one of Westcott and Hort's so-called "Western non-interpolations," and it is unattested for MLk.<sup>44</sup> In fact, none of the heresiol-

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<sup>40</sup> Translation from Carmel McCarthy, *Saint Ephrem's Commentary on Tatian's Diatessaron: An English Translation of Chester Beatty Syriac MS 709 with Introduction and Notes* (JSSt.S 2; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 344 and n. 1. See also Louis Leloir, *Éphrem de Nisibe: Commentaire de l'évangile concordant ou Diatessaron* (SC 121; Paris: Cerf, 1966), 409 and n. 1; F. C. Conybeare, "Ein Zeugnis Ephräms über das Fehlen von c.1 und 2 im Texte des Lucas," *ZNW* 3 (1902): 192–97, cited by Fitzmyer, *Luke* (n. 39), 1:311.

For a modern view that Luke originally began at 3:1, see Burnett H. Streeter, *The Four Gospels: A Study of Origins* (London: Macmillan, 1924), 208–9.

<sup>41</sup> Tyson, *Marcion and Luke-Acts* (n. 28), 100 (summary of pp. 90–100); see also Klinghardt, *Das älteste Evangelium* (n. 8), 1:148, who otherwise seems not very interested in the "sog. Kindheitsgeschichte."

<sup>42</sup> Klinghardt, *Das älteste Evangelium* (n. 8), 1:149–59, noting particularly in CLk 1:1–4 a veiled attempt to discredit the Marcionite gospel which CLk was intended to displace (*ibid.*, 159).

<sup>43</sup> Daniel A. Smith, "Marcion's Gospel and the Resurrected Jesus of Canonical Luke 24," *ZAC* 21 (2017): 41–62.

<sup>44</sup> Roth, *Marcion's Gospel* (n. 2), 26, 78.



ogists refers to this verse in any of their writings, and it is not mentioned by any patristic author before Ambrose (*Exp. Luc.* 10.174). While at one time I was quite convinced by the arguments of the late Frans Neirynck in favor of the originality of this verse to Luke, based mainly on Lukan style, lately I am not so sure.<sup>45</sup> It seems probable at least that the verse, which would likely have been useful to the heresiologists' polemics, was missing from MLk. Second, the two forms of Luke differ significantly in how the body of the resurrected Jesus is theorized. In MLk 24:37, the disciples think that they are seeing a φάντασμα (so also Codex Bezae), but in verse 39 Jesus denies that he is a πνεῦμα; CLk has πνεῦμα in both verses. If φάντασμα was the reading given by MLk 24:37 – because it is not attested by Epiphanius and it seems to be Tertullian's favorite descriptor for Marcion's Jesus (cf. *Carn. Chr.* 5.9) – it becomes possible that CLk's more consistent language is secondary and aimed at Pauline, and not Marcionite, understandings of the risen Christ.<sup>46</sup> Φάντασμα, moreover, is a correct Hellenistic term for a ghost, but πνεῦμα is not.<sup>47</sup> Editing in these verses would likely have tended to consistency rather than tension. Jesus' reply is also different in the two forms of Luke:

ἴδετε τὰς χεῖράς μου καὶ τοὺς πόδας μου ὅτι ἐγὼ εἰμι αὐτός· ψηλαφήσατέ με καὶ ἴδετε, ὅτι πνεῦμα σάρκα καὶ ὁστέα οὐκ ἔχει καθὼς ἐμεῖ θεωρεῖτε ἔχοντα. (CLk 24:39)

ἴδετε τὰς χεῖράς μου καὶ τοὺς πόδας μου ὅτι [ἐγὼ εἰμι αὐτός·]  
ὅτι πνεῦμα ὁστέα οὐκ ἔχει καθὼς ἐμεῖ θεωρεῖτε ἔχοντα. (MLk 24:39)<sup>48</sup>

<sup>45</sup> Frans Neirynck, "Once More Luke 24,12," *ETL* 70 (1994): 319–40; idem, "Luke 24,12: An Anti-Docetic Interpolation?" in *New Testament Textual Criticism and Exegesis: Festschrift J. Delobel*, ed. Adelbert Denaux (BETL 161; Leuven: Peeters, 2002), 145–58. See also Daniel A. Smith, *Revisiting the Empty Tomb: The Early History of Easter* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2010), 103–6; Smith, "Marcion's Gospel and the Resurrected Jesus" (n. 43), 53.

<sup>46</sup> Tertullian, *Adv. Marc.* 4.43.6; Epiphanius, *Pan.* 42.11 σχ. 78; see Roth, *Marcion's Gospel* (n. 2), 182–3 (attestation); 435 (reconstruction). On a possible anti-Pauline apologetic, see Daniel A. Smith, "Seeing a Pneuma(tic Body): The Apologetic Interests of Luke 24:36–43," *CBQ* 72 (2010): 752–72 (765–71). Compare CLk 24:37–39 with 1 Cor 15:44–46, 50.

<sup>47</sup> Smith, "Pneuma(tic Body)" (n. 46), 755–7, with literature; Terence Paige, "Who Believes in 'Spirit'? Πνεῦμα in Pagan Usage and Implications for the Gentile Christian Mission," *HTR* 95 (2002): 417–36 (420).

<sup>48</sup> Roth, *Marcion's Gospel* (n. 2), 182–4 (attestation), 435 (reconstruction). The order of the bracketed words is not certain, because of conflicting attestation. Roth suggests cautiously that "ψηλαφήσατέ με καὶ ἴδετε [and] σάρκα καὶ ὁστέα may not have been present", mainly because these words are also absent from the discussion of this verse in *Carn. Chr.* 5.9 (ibid., 183–4, 435), where Tertullian seems to be discussing Marcion's form of the text (5.10). Roth's suggestion that Tertullian perhaps had omitted these words (from his own citation of CLk?) is unlikely,

Immediately apparent is the fact that MLk does not refer to Jesus' flesh. It is also noteworthy that the words ψηλαφήσατέ με καὶ ἴδετε, found in CLk but absent from MLk, are also found in Ignatius, *Smyrn.* 3.2: after the apostles touched Jesus, they became "mingled with [Jesus'] flesh and spirit" (κραθέντες τῇ σαρκὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῷ πνεύματι). Both *Smyrn.* 3.2 and the canonical form of Luke 24 represent similar attempts to restrict authorization to the Twelve (Ignatius: "those of Peter's circle") in the context of fleshly resurrection appearances.<sup>49</sup> Other features of the canonical form of Luke 24 that support the authorization of the apostles to interpret the Scriptures in relation to Christ, which might have been useful to Tertullian and Epiphanius had they been present in MLk, are unfortunately unattested (especially CLk 24:44–46). In the end, the canonical form of this passage seems to be more developed rhetorically and theologically than the form found in MLk.

Third, it is also very suggestive that a large amount of Lukan *Sondergut* is absent from or unattested for MLk.<sup>50</sup> It is not only that a significantly lower proportion of *Sondergut* than Markan or Q material is attested for MLk, as detailed in the appendices; it is also that certain elements crucial to the redactional plan of the Lukan Travel Narrative (CLk 9:51–19:28) are attested as absent.<sup>51</sup> Epiphanius attests as absent both the warning about Herod, in which Jesus states that "it is impossible for a prophet to be killed outside of Jerusalem" (CLk 13:31–33), and the scene of Jesus weeping over Jerusalem after his arrival there (CLk 19:41–44). The whole of the third Passion Prediction, with its reference to "going up to Jerusalem" (CLk 18:31–33 par. Mark 10:32–34) is also attested as absent from MLk.<sup>52</sup> The concluding Lukan observation about the disciples' lack of understanding is also unattested (CLk 18:34). Even the topic of conversation at the Transfiguration, Jesus's departure at Jerusalem, is missing, even though the verse in which it appears is otherwise attested (CLk 9:31b). Other bits of Lukan *Sondergut* that give the Travel Narrative its shape are unattested (CLk 9:51; 13:22; 17:11). Although it is probably unwise to draw conclusions from unattested material, two Lukan ad-

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given that a reference to "flesh" would have strengthened Tertullian's argument in the context: how could Christ "wear flesh, without bones yet hard, without muscles yet solid, without blood yet bloody..."? (*Carn. Chr.* 5.9)

<sup>49</sup> See Smith, "Marcion's Gospel and the Resurrected Jesus" (n. 43), 54–9 for a fuller discussion.

<sup>50</sup> See the tables and statistics in Appendix I; details about attestation in the following paragraph are based on Roth, *Marcion's Gospel* (n. 2).

<sup>51</sup> This is observed by Klinghardt, *Das älteste Evangelium* (n. 8), 1:197–9.

<sup>52</sup> This absent passage, because it contains both *Sondergut* and Markan material, shows the difficulty in situating the reconstructed MLk in simplistic source-critical hypotheses. For further discussion, see below, Section 5.

ditions probably intended to clarify the double command to love (CLk 10:25–28), namely, the Parable of the Good Samaritan (CLk 10:29–37) and the episode in the home of Martha and Mary (10:38–42), are also unattested in MLk. The latter is of interest because these women, whom the gospel tradition elsewhere locates in Bethany (John 11–12), appear here in the Travel Narrative somewhere in “a certain village” (εἰς κώμην τινά, CLk 10:38) between Samaria (CLk 9:52–56; 17:11) and Jerusalem.<sup>53</sup> All this might suggest that these references to Jesus’ journey to Jerusalem fell victim to Marcion’s mutilation of CLk (along with other material unique to Luke?), but on the other hand, it is also possible that the redactional shape of this section was given further definition with these references, and augmented with additional material (e.g. CLk 13:1–9; 15:11–32; 17:7–10), subsequent to Marcion’s reception of the text.

Fourth, BeDuhn draws attention to the fact that quite a few of the so-called “minor agreements” of Matthew and Luke against Mark in the Triple Tradition are absent from MLk. BeDuhn proceeds from S. McLoughlin’s count of 52 “significant minor agreements.”<sup>54</sup> Only 31 “can be checked against the Evangelion’s text in some way,” and of these 31, only 11 occur and 20 do not. This is the data set behind BeDuhn’s claim that “the Evangelion has substantially fewer (one third) of the ‘minor agreements’ accepted in the current critical text of Luke.”<sup>55</sup> As already noted, BeDuhn finds evidence in MLk that all the minor agreements originated as scribal harmonizations that occurred after the composition of Matthew and Luke – and thus refuting alternative theories for their origin, especially Luke’s dependence on Matthew. Obviously, the minor agreements, however they are defined, represent a very complicated issue, with definition one of the more serious challenges. What constitutes an agreement? Are the minor agreements in fact determined by our definitions? When is an agreement truly minor, and when is it significant? Do they together constitute a single phenomenon which (as BeDuhn suggests for the “significant” 52) admit of a single explanation?<sup>56</sup> However, the situation is even more complex,

<sup>53</sup> Alan Kirk, “Memory Theory: Cultural and Cognitive Approaches to the Gospel Tradition,” in *Understanding the Social World of the New Testament*, ed. Dietmar Neufeld and Richard DeMaris (London: Routledge, 2010), 57–67 (65–66).

<sup>54</sup> BeDuhn, *First New Testament* (n. 8), 354–5 n. 88; S. McLoughlin, “Les accord mineurs Mt-Lc et le problème synoptique: vers la théorie des deux sources,” in *De Jésus aux Évangiles: Tradition et rédaction dans les Évangiles synoptiques*, ed. Ignace de la Potterie (BETL 25; Gembloux: Ducolot, 1967), 17–40; Michael McLoughlin, “Listing the Minor Agreements,” *ETL* 87 (2011): 201–28.

<sup>55</sup> BeDuhn, *First New Testament* (n. 8), 93.

<sup>56</sup> M. Eugene Boring, “The ‘Minor Agreements’ and their Bearing on the Synoptic Problem,” in Paul Foster et al., *New Studies in the Synoptic Problem* (n. 2), 227–51 (227–33).

according to BeDuhn, because in certain instances, MLk contains harmonizations to Matthew which are not found in CLk: “this surprising evidence suggests that both texts were equally and independently subjected to harmonizing influence.”<sup>57</sup> However, BeDuhn does not list any evidence, and it may be that questions of reconstruction complicate the analysis, for, as already noted, apparently sometimes the heresiologists themselves may have introduced harmonizations when they cite or paraphrase Marcion’s Gospel.<sup>58</sup> In any case, BeDuhn’s claims should be tested with a careful study of the evidence, both the minor agreements in CLk but missing from MLk, and the harmonizations in MLk not found in CLk. Such analysis might confirm BeDuhn’s conclusion that MLk and CLk were independent versions of an earlier *Vorlage*.

Perhaps the most curious argument recently advanced in favor of the relative priority of MLk over CLk proposes – on the basis of some ambiguous comments from Tertullian, in which (it is claimed) that the correct version of the story is preserved – that Marcion himself wrote the gospel, in fact the first of all gospels to be written. Markus Vinzent first proposed this theory in 2011 and then later argued it again with renewed vigor in 2014.<sup>59</sup> While Klinghardt, as we shall see, argues mainly from gospel evidence (especially text-critical observations and claims about the plausibility of large-scale editorial scenarios), Vinzent’s approach is to discover vestiges of Marcion’s own views in Tertullian’s polemic. He observes that Tertullian calls Marcion gospel-maker, *evangelizator* (*Adv. Marc.* 4.4.5); mentions a novel style of discourse, a *nova forma sermonis* (4.11.12), which Vinzent takes to be a “literary innovation”; states that Marcion claimed that the gospel he used was “his own” (4.4.1), had been “interpolated” through combination with the Law and the Prophets (4.4.4), and had suffered “plagiarism” before its “publication” (4.4.2). The last two points find confirmation, Vinzent thinks, in another of Tertullian’s writings, where he says that “we” were ac-

57 BeDuhn, *First New Testament* (n. 8), 88; “The Myth of Marcion as Redactor” (n. 2), 33.

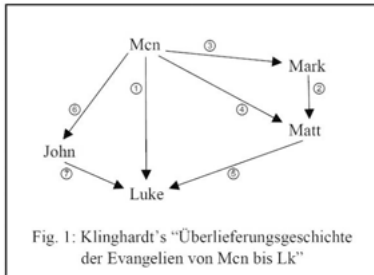
58 See Lieu, *Marcion* (n. 5), 199–200; Roth, *Marcion’s Gospel* (n. 2), 438–9. Luke 5:12 is one example where reconstruction questions problematize BeDuhn’s claim that MLk harmonizes to Matthew differently from CLk. CLk 5:12 reads ἀνὴρ πλήρης λέπρας, but BeDuhn reconstructs MLk 5:12 with “a leprous man,” which he suggests is “in agreement with Mark 1:40/Matt 8:2 (*First New Testament* [n. 8], 100, 132). However, Mark and Matthew have λεπρός, not ἀνὴρ λεπρός (so D); Roth says that the reconstruction of MLk here is uncertain and implies that Tertullian may have harmonized to Matthew or Mark (*Marcion’s Gospel* [n. 2], 191).

59 Vinzent, *Christ’s Resurrection* (n. 31), 86–92; roundly critiqued by Judith Lieu, “The Enduring Legacy of Pan-Marcionism,” *JEH* 64 (2013): 557–61 (559–60); argued again in Vinzent, *Marcion* (n. 9), 89–107, some of which is reproduced or summarized in idem, “Marcion’s Gospel and the Beginnings of Christianity” (n. 31), 70–76.

cused of introducing a corrupt text into the Scriptures (*Praescr.* 38.6).<sup>60</sup> A sustained critique of this assemblage of readings is not possible here.<sup>61</sup> Suffice it to say that Vincent's account of the history of the original "leak" of Marcion's Gospel, its use as source for its four quickly composed competitors, and then finally its official publication is as breathtaking as the idiosyncratic readings of Tertullian summarized briefly above.<sup>62</sup>

## 4 The Priority of Marcion, or of Mark?

As shown in the diagram below, Mark's dependence on Marcion's Gospel is the third step in Klinghardt's theory of the history of the origins of the gospels (Matthew's dependence on Mark is taken as a given).<sup>63</sup> Since this third step "Mc → Mark" is of critical importance to his "Überlieferungsgeschichte" (subsequently augmented by additional lines of influence explaining the development of the canonical forms of the gospels), at least where the Synoptics are concerned, it is worthwhile to examine this step somewhat in detail. Subsequent steps, for example Matthew's dependence on Marcion's Gospel, will not be discussed.



Klinghardt's case begins with the claim that MLk can be explained as the earliest gospel on text-critical grounds. He states:

<sup>60</sup> Vincent, *Marcion* (n. 9), 90–96; see also Klinghardt, *Das älteste Evangelium* (n. 8), 1:30–37, who covers some of the same material but does not refer to Vincent in his discussion.

<sup>61</sup> Several reviews have appeared: see Paul Foster, *JEH* (2015): 144–5; Jason BeDuhn, *VC* 69 (2015): 452–7 (see *ibid.*, 453–4 for a critique of Vincent's claim to have uncovered a "plagiarism" charge in *Adv. Marc.* 4.4.2) and Dieter Roth, *JTS* 66 (2015): 800–803 (see *ibid.*, 802 for a critique of the reading of *nec forma sermonis in Christo nova* in *Adv. Marc.* 4.11.12).

<sup>62</sup> Vincent, *Marcion* (n. 9), 97–100.

<sup>63</sup> See Klinghardt, *Das älteste Evangelium* (n. 8), 1:189–194 for the explanation of the "Arbeits-hypothese"; diagram based on *ibid.*, 1:311.

[Die] textgeschichtlichen Überlegungen [haben] bereits erkennen lassen, dass Mcn sehr wahrscheinlich nicht nur ein vor-lk Text ist, sondern das älteste Evangelium überhaupt: Die große Zahl der gemeinsamen Varianten von Mcn und den “Westlichen” Handschriften (D it sy) hat die Vermutung nahegelegt, dass dieses Evangelium vor der Erstellung und Verbreitung der Kanonischen Ausgabe bereits in Versionen, der Vetus Latina und der Vetus Syra, rezipiert wurde. Unter dieser Voraussetzung gehören Mcn und Mk nicht auf dieselbe Überlieferungsebene: Es ist zu vermuten dass Mcn vor dem kanonischen Mk angesiedelt werden muss.<sup>64</sup>

Earlier in the book, in his discussion of these “text-critical considerations,” the priority of MLk not only to CLk but indeed to all the gospels is presented as a “Prämisse” or “Voraussetzung” which then governs the explanation of the data.<sup>65</sup> In other words: the priority of MLk can account for the fact that many of its readings correspond to Western readings in Luke, if it is assumed that MLk is the origin of those readings, and that these readings originated prior to the canonical gospels. Exactly how the step is made from the supposition of the reception of MLk in the Old Latin and Old Syriac versions to the suggestion that MLk and Mark do not belong to the same stage in the development of the written gospels is unclear. Be that as it may, because Klinghardt attempts to support his “Voraussetzung” with additional observations concerning patterns of redactional activity, our discussion turns now to this part of his argument.

Again, Klinghardt begins with a “working hypothesis” in order to account for the data which on the Two-Document Hypothesis is explained as resulting from Luke’s dependence on Mark: “Als Arbeitshypothese ist daher davon auszugehen, dass Mk die erste Bearbeitung dieses mutmaßlich ältesten Evangelium darstellt. Unter dieser Annahme der Mcn-Priorität vor Mk sind dann die Differenzen zwischen beiden Texten daraufhin zu überprüfen, ob sie sich tatsächlich als Ergebnis der mk Redaktion von Mcn wahrscheinlich machen lassen.”<sup>66</sup> In Klinghardt’s proposed web of gospel relationships, Mark needs to be the earliest text to rework MLk for two reasons. First, Klinghardt does not doubt that Matthew used Mark, but proposes that Matthew found non-Markan material in MLk and worked it into the Markan framework; this explains the origin of the Double Tradition material Matthew and MLk share in common. Second, Klinghardt still needs to explain the presence in CLk of Double Tradition material shared with Matthew but not found in MLk; this actually originates, on his hypothesis, as Matthean *Sondergut* taken over in the composition of canonical Luke.<sup>67</sup> Klinghardt offers four redaction-critical argu-

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<sup>64</sup> Klinghardt, *Das älteste Evangelium* (n. 8), 1:190.

<sup>65</sup> Klinghardt, *Das älteste Evangelium* (n. 8), 1:78.

<sup>66</sup> Klinghardt, *Das älteste Evangelium* (n. 8), 1:195.

<sup>67</sup> Klinghardt, *Das älteste Evangelium* (n. 8), 1:190–1.

ments in support of the dependence of Mark on MLk, none of which is really convincing as to the direction of literary dependence. These will be discussed briefly in turn, with more attention given to the final argument concerning the beginnings and conclusions of MLk and Mark.

First, the reconstructions show that certain distinctively Markan features in the central section, for example the framing provided by the two healings of blind men (Mark 8:22–26; 10:46–52) and the related material about the disciples' lack of understanding, are not found in MLk.<sup>68</sup> In addition, many of the redactional traits that establish the Lukan Travel Narrative are missing from MLk, as noted above.<sup>69</sup> Klinghardt thinks it more likely that Mark 8:22–10:52 represents a redactional reworking of MLk 9:51–19:28 than vice versa. Second, Klinghardt also believes that the so-called Lukan "Great Omission" (of Mark 6:45–8:26 at Luke 9:17/18) is better understood as a "Great Expansion" by the author of Mark, particularly because the whole section Mark 3:7–8:26 develops the theme of the initiation of the Twelve into discipleship under Jesus.<sup>70</sup> Otherwise, there is no satisfactory explanation of why Luke destroyed this compositional unity, without putting anything comparable in its place.<sup>71</sup> On the priority of Mark, answers for this range from the possibility that the section was not in Luke's copy of Mark, to the view that Luke did not approve of the material for one reason or another (its geographical focus, for example).<sup>72</sup> Alternatively, the problem arises for Klinghardt as to why Mark has omitted, in the process of editing MLk, what is now Double Tradition material or Lukan *Sondergut*, including for example many parables.<sup>73</sup> Third, Klinghardt attempts to show that the shorter Markan versions of what are sometimes called "Mark–Q overlaps" are the result of Markan redaction, choosing for illustration instances in which Mark and Matthew preserve longer versions of the sayings than does MLk. Generally he con-

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68 Klinghardt, *Das älteste Evangelium* (n. 8), 1:199–203. Mark 8:22–26 has no parallel; Mark 10:46–52 = MLk/CLk 18:35–43.

69 Klinghardt, *Das älteste Evangelium* (n. 8), 1:197–9. A few "'kleinen' Reisenotizen" are attested for MLk (MLk 10:38; 14:25; 17:11).

70 Klinghardt, *Das älteste Evangelium* (n. 8), 1:210–3.

71 Klinghardt, *Das älteste Evangelium* (n. 8), 1:214.

72 The literature is surveyed by Michael Pettem, "Luke's Great Omission and His View of the Law," *NTS* 42 (1996): 35–54.

73 This explains why Klinghardt needs Matthean dependence on MLk, that is, to explain the material omitted by Mark from MLk, but included by Matthew from MLk (that is, the Double Tradition material).



cludes that the differences between MLk and Mark show “die ordnende und planvoll gestaltende Hand von Mk.”<sup>74</sup>

Fourth, as to the beginnings and conclusions of the two gospels, Klinghardt observes that the beginning of Mark seems more developed than the beginning of MLk, which seems to presume that the reader knows about Jesus; the first statement about the identity of Jesus is in the mouth of demons (MLk 4:31–37 par. Mark 1:21–28). Before this story in Mark, by contrast, Jesus receives a considerable introduction from the narrator (Mark 1:1), John (1:2–8); and the heavenly voice (1:9–11).<sup>75</sup> Klinghardt claims that Mark’s use of εὐαγγέλιον both for the “genre” of his composition (1:1) and the content of Jesus’ proclamation (1:15) derive from MLk. Mark, however, situates the εὐαγγέλιον within a salvation-historical framework that stretches back to the prophets (1:2–3).<sup>76</sup> With the conclusions, Klinghardt thinks that Mark’s ending is more developed than the “recht uneinheitlich” ending of MLk, whose “Kohärenz ist lückenhaft,” since it contains many contradictory elements.<sup>77</sup> By contrast, Mark 16:1–8 is an abrupt conclusion, but certainly not careless, and shows some complex narrative strategies, including the invitation for the implicit reader to stand in as a disciple and to follow, step by step, the way Jesus led his disciples from Galilee to Jerusalem. To accomplish this, according to Klinghardt, the Markan author had to depart from the original source.<sup>78</sup> Finally, “überlieferungsgeschichtlich ist die Lokalisierung der Erscheinungen in Jerusalem älter als die in Galiläa: Die Jerusalemer Erscheinungstradition stand schon im vorkanonischen Evangelium.”<sup>79</sup> Klinghardt is probably correct on this matter (at least for those who became leaders of the movement in Jerusalem: see 1 Cor 15:5), but not simply because resurrection appearances are situated in Jerusalem in Marcion’s Gospel.

What Klinghardt fails to do in this discussion is to deal with the actual details of the text of Mark alongside that of his reconstructed MLk. The traditional arguments that support the priority of Mark – namely, detailed assessments of language, style, theology, and so forth – are not discussed in Klinghardt’s ac-

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<sup>74</sup> Klinghardt, *Das älteste Evangelium* (n. 8), 1:223. In one case, the saying about flavorless salt (Mark 9:50; Matt 5:13; MLk/CLk 14:34–35), Klinghardt has to work without attestation for MLk from Tertullian and Epiphanius, but he is still able to reconstruct a text that explains the origin of καταπαεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων in Matt 5:13 – by retrieving a Lukan variant from the Old Latin Codex Rehderanus (l) as the original wording of MLk 14:35 (ibid., 2:843 for reconstruction).

<sup>75</sup> Klinghardt, *Das älteste Evangelium* (n. 8), 1:225–6.

<sup>76</sup> Klinghardt, *Das älteste Evangelium* (n. 8), 1:226–7.

<sup>77</sup> Klinghardt, *Das älteste Evangelium* (n. 8), 1:228–9.

<sup>78</sup> Klinghardt, *Das älteste Evangelium* (n. 8), 1:230.

<sup>79</sup> Klinghardt, *Das älteste Evangelium* (n. 8), 1:231.



count of the dependence of Mark on MLk, which tends generally to focus on large-scale redactional scenarios and their relative plausibility. With this last point, Klinghardt converts some standard observations about the literary purposes of the Markan author at the beginning and conclusion of the gospel into arguments for Mark's greater literary development in comparison with MLk. Such arguments are debatable; but the devil, it is said, is in the details. In the discussion that follows, Klinghardt's "working hypothesis" about the dependence of Mark on MLk is examined in connection with a detailed study of the parallel empty tomb narratives (see the synopsis in Appendix 2).

Immediately one notices how much fuller is Klinghardt's reconstruction than Roth's. This is because he tends to take over material from CLK, or from contradictory textual witnesses, which is not attested for MLk, and prints it "vermutlich vorhanden." There are a few interesting details about the reconstruction that are worth observing.<sup>80</sup> (1) Klinghardt omits ἀρώματα (24:1), despite its clear attestation in Tertullian (*Adv. Marc.* 4.43.2), because of its characteristic omission in the Western witnesses. As a continuation of the verse, Klinghardt adds ἐλογίζοντο δὲ ἐν ἑαυταῖς; τίς ἄρα ἀποκυλίσει τὸν λίθον despite its lack of attestation, and prints it as "für Mcn bezeugt ... aber nicht in Lk." This reading is also retrieved from Western witnesses, and it suggests to Klinghardt "dass Mk 16:3 durch den vorkanonischen Text angeregt war." Matthew then left the question out and Luke followed Matthew against MLk and Mark.<sup>81</sup> (2) The whole of verse 2 is unattested, but Klinghardt prints it as "vermutlich vorhanden," except for ἀπὸ τοῦ μνημείου (omitted only by b and Peter Chrysologus). He also omits these words from verse 9 despite the fact that Tertullian attests them (*Adv. Marc.* 4.43.2); Westcott and Hort included them in an "intermediate class" of possible Western non-interpolations.<sup>82</sup> (3) The Western non-interpolation τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ (v. 3) is not attested by the heresiologists (Tertullian, *Adv. Marc.* 4.43.2 has only *corpore autem non invento*), but Klinghardt says that the words "sind durch Tertullian auch [in addition to D it etc.] für Mcn als *fehlend* bezeugt."<sup>83</sup> Klinghardt considers words ab-

**80** The following discussion is based on Klinghardt's reconstruction of this passage: Klinghardt, *Das älteste Evangelium* (n. 8), 2:1116–7 (text and witnesses); 2:1117–31 (discussion), with corroboration from Roth, *Marcion's Gospel* (n. 2) on specifics of attestation.

**81** Klinghardt, *Das älteste Evangelium* (n. 8), 2:1118. Vinzent likewise sees this highly conjectural reading for MLk 24:1 as evidence for Mark's dependence on MLk: "If Mark had been the source of our Synoptics (and therefore of Marcion, had he copied Luke), why do none of the witnesses follow Mark 16:1 – but all have Mark 16:2 in parallel? You will not be surprised that this verse is attested for Marcion" (*Marcion*, 274).

**82** Brooke F. Westcott and Fenton J. A. Hort, *The New Testament in the Original Greek* (New York: Macmillan, 1896), 2:176; Roth, *Marcion's Gospel* (n. 2), 267.

**83** Klinghardt, *Das älteste Evangelium* (n. 8), 2:1118, emphasis added.

sent from a running citation or allusion to be attested as absent, and not simply passed over in citation or paraphrase. (6) Another longer non-Western reading, οὐκ ἔστιν ὧδε, ἀλλ' ἠγέρθη (v. 6), is similarly shown “attested as absent” in its entirety even though Epiphanius reads ἠγέρθη (*Pan.* 42.11.6.76.; 42.11.17 σχ. 76); Klinghardt maintains that Tertullian’s text of MLk was faithful to the original, while Epiphanius’s shows an influence from the text of CLk.<sup>84</sup> (7) Next, in verse 7, Klinghardt conjectures μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας instead of τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ as attested (Tertullian, *Adv. Marc.* 4.43.5, *et tertia die resurgere*) and as found in CLk 24:7. While there is no attestation for μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας, neither in the heresiologists nor in variant readings, Klinghardt supplies it from MLk 9:22 (diff. CLk 9:22), which clearly read “after three days.” Because of the virtual unanimity on τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ in primitive Christian texts (except for Mark), Klinghardt says the possibility that MLk 24:7 originally had this wording must be excluded, so that “after three days” required a canonical correction in CLk 24:7, yielding the more typical wording.<sup>85</sup> (9) In verse 9, despite a lack of attestation, Klinghardt supplies a second indirect object τοῖς ἀποστόλοις as a wording of MLk not found in CLk. Although normally Klinghardt follows CLk when MLk is not attested, here he excludes ἔνδεκα as a possible wording for MLk because “the Eleven” only come into the picture at the canonical stage of the revision of the gospels: the reduction of the Twelve presumes the influence of the Matthean narrative (Matt 27:3–10), and CLk was finally corrected with the addition of ἔνδεκα in place of ἀποστόλοις. (10) Verse 10 is unattested, but characteristically Klinghardt reconstructs this from CLk as “possibly present,” except for καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ κτλ, which is absent from a single Latin witness (C. Rehdigeranus, 1).<sup>86</sup> (12) Finally, CLk 24:12 is printed as unattested in the heresiologists and probably not present in MLk. Elsewhere he associates the addition of this verse in CLk (under the influence of John 20) with the overall redactional plan of the canonical form of this chapter.<sup>87</sup>

Throughout this discussion, Klinghardt uses the details of his reconstruction (normally very supportive of his case) to illustrate his proposed direction of de-

<sup>84</sup> Klinghardt, *Das älteste Evangelium* (n. 8), 2:1119. Concerning this, Roth writes: “the verb ἠγέρθη is certainly drawn from Marcion’s text as in every other allusion to or citation of this verse, including the elenchus, Epiphanius uses the verb ἀνίστημι” (Roth, *Marcion’s Gospel* [n. 2], 342).

<sup>85</sup> Klinghardt, *Das älteste Evangelium* (n. 8), 2:1122. For the reconstruction of MLk 9:22, see Klinghardt, *Das älteste Evangelium* (n. 8), 2:645; BeDuhn, *First New Testament* (n. 8), 107; Roth, *Marcion’s Gospel* (n. 2), 419.

<sup>86</sup> Klinghardt, *Das älteste Evangelium* (n. 8), 2:1124.

<sup>87</sup> Klinghardt, *Das älteste Evangelium* (n. 8), 1:163–74, especially 166–8.

pendence and the nature of literary development subsequent to MLk. For example, in verse 6 the absence of οὐκ ἔστιν ὧδε, ἀλλ' ἠγέρθη (despite the attestation for ἠγέρθη) in MLk provides the starting point for a linear development:

MLk 24:6 [null]	Mark 16:6 ἠγέρθη, οὐκ ἔστιν ὧδε	Matt 28:6 οὐκ ἔστιν ὧδε, ἠγέρθη γάρ	Luke 24:6 οὐκ ἔστιν ὧδε, ἀλλ' ἠγέρθη
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Mark reacted to MLk, Matthew revised Mark, and Luke followed Matthew. In many other cases in his discussion of MLk 24:1–12, Klinghardt explains the development of the successive versions of the story, but based on his own reconstruction of MLk (and often, as noted above, with a considerable amount of special pleading). But can the dependence of Mark on MLk be proven and not just explained on the basis of supposed editorial developments? In his helpful essay on literary dependence, Andrew Gregory has shown that the supposed telltale criterion, the presence of redactional elements of a source text in the recipient text, is actually only “of limited use,” especially within the Synoptics themselves, particularly because redactional elements are usually derived from a particular source hypothesis.<sup>88</sup> Similarly, the confidence that scholars such as B. H. Streeter once had that matters of style and grammar could prove the priority of Mark has eroded in the last generation or so.<sup>89</sup>

Nevertheless, in my opinion, certain narrative and stylistic elements of the Markan presentation still suggest, when compared with the parallel presentation in MLk, that the latter seems to be a later improvement of the former. Mark's characteristic paratactic style can be seen throughout the passage (Mark 16:1–5, 8), and there are several instances of the historical present (vv. 2, 4, 6). MLk by contrast (on Klinghardt's reconstruction) shows no uses of the historical present, except in verse 12, which probably was not part of Marcion's Gospel and

<sup>88</sup> Andrew Gregory, “What is Literary Dependence?,” in Paul Foster et al., *New Studies in the Synoptic Problem* (n. 2), 87–114 (112); the criterion was first developed by Helmut Koester, *Synoptische Überlieferung bei den Apostolischen Vätern* (Berlin: Akademie, 1957), 3.

<sup>89</sup> Streeter, *The Four Gospels* (n. 40), 162: “A close study of the actual language of parallel passages in the Gospels shows that there is a constant tendency in Matthew and Luke – showing itself in minute alterations, sometimes by one, sometimes by the other, and often by both – to improve upon and refine Mark's version. This confirms the conclusion, to which the facts already mentioned point, that the Marcan form is the more primitive.” Compare William D. Davies and Dale C. Allison Jr., *The Gospel According to Saint Matthew* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1988–1997), 1:103: “On the Griesbach hypothesis, the alleged Matthean improvements of Mark prove nothing. They show only that the author of the Second Gospel was just not the writer Matthew was.”

which certainly cannot derive from Mark; however, καί as a conjunction linking sentences is found a couple of times (MLk 24:8–9; also v. 4, in a καὶ ἐγένετο construction). Mark 16:4 also has a dependent ὅτι-clause describing the stone rolled away from the tomb, where MLk 24:2 (on Klinghardt's reconstruction; it is unattested) has an attributive participle, τὸν λίθον ἀποκεκλισμένον. Grammatically the Markan account seems to be rougher than what was in MLk, but this perhaps is not decisive. Certain narrative features of Mark also seem to have been improved or avoided in MLk, for example the mysterious νεανίσκος (v. 5) or the awkward, hanging ending (v. 8). The “young man” in the tomb is obviously Markan, on either theory, in connection with Mark 14:51–52; and the “two men in shining apparel” (or “two angels”) in MLk 24:4 could be seen as an improvement of the Markan story, but it is also possible that Mark downplayed an original angelophany in his source in favor of his νεανίσκος.<sup>90</sup> It also seems more probable that the ending of the pericope in MLk represents an improvement of Mark's difficult conclusion, since the narrative and grammatical problems associated with καὶ οὐδενὶ οὐδὲν εἶπαν· ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ are no longer an issue; but Klinghardt also argues the opposite, that Mark's open ending represents a secondary development to what is found in MLk.<sup>91</sup> Another difference between the stories is that whereas in Mark the women are sent to tell the disciples that Jesus goes ahead of them to Galilee (Mark 16:7; cf. 14:28), in MLk they are told to remember what Jesus had said to them about his crucifixion and resurrection (MLk 24:6–7; ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ is not in Klinghardt's reconstruction).<sup>92</sup> This seems to be an erasure of the women's announcement of the resurrection, something very much in keeping with the theme of the authorization of male apostles prominent in CLk 24 and Acts; but Klinghardt perhaps would argue that Mark originates this commissioning, which is taken up by Matthew and John, but not by CLk, which follows MLk.<sup>93</sup>

Although Gregory cautions that there is no foolproof way to demonstrate the direction of literary dependence, he also states that cumulative arguments could still hold some weight. In the end, Klinghardt's arguments for the dependence of

<sup>90</sup> Smith, *Revisiting the Empty Tomb* (n. 45), 94.

<sup>91</sup> Klinghardt, *Das älteste Evangelium* (n. 8), 1:230–1.

<sup>92</sup> Klinghardt, *Das älteste Evangelium* (n. 8), 2:1120; cf. Roth, *Marcion's Gospel* (n. 2), 435. Epiphanius, *Pan.* 42.11.6.76; 42.11.17 σχ. 76 and the Syriac witnesses read only μεθ' ὑμῶν, but Tertullian, *Adv. Marc.* 4.43.5 has *rememoramini quae locutus sit vobis in Galilaea*.

<sup>93</sup> See Smith, “Marcion's Gospel and the Resurrected Jesus” (n. 43), 60. Klinghardt's discussion of the redaction of MLk 24:1–11 by Mark is focused mainly on the appearance in Galilee (on his view, a Markan addition), so he does not address this topic (Klinghardt, *Das älteste Evangelium* [n. 8], 1:230–1).

Mark on MLk seem to presume too much, despite his attempts to explain literary developments that followed (on his theory) the original reception of MLk, “das älteste Evangelium.” It also depends on his very tendentious reconstruction of MLk: for example, his view that Mark 16:3 has its origin in MLk (τίς ἄρα ἀποκυλίσσει τὸν λίθον;). Considerations of grammatical, stylistic, and narrative development might seem to work both ways, but I remain convinced of the priority of Mark.

## 5 On Not Dispensing with Any of Q

As noted above, Klinghardt has no need for Q, because the hypothesis of the priority of MLk supplies some of the Double Tradition to Matthew and Luke, while the subsidiary use of Matthew by CLk supplies the rest. However, the hypothesis of the dependence of Mark on MLk must account both for Mark's omission of (what becomes) MLk/Lukan Sondergut, and for Mark's elimination of (what becomes) Double Tradition material. On this point, the hypothesis must answer the same questions faced by the posteriority of Mark on the Two Gospel Hypothesis: why would Mark eliminate so much material congenial to his presentation of Jesus, and offer instead fewer, more expansive pericopae? On the other hand, a more moderate account of MLk's position within the web of Synoptic relationships, as suggested by BeDuhn and others before him, allows that MLk represents an earlier revision than CLk of the common *Vorlage*, and situates MLk indirectly within the classic Two-Document Hypothesis. On this theory, this *Vorlage*, for Knox, Tyson, and BeDuhn, is a kind of Proto-Luke which originated not in the combination of Q and L, as Streeter held, but in the combination of Mark and Q, with the addition of some *Sondergut*.<sup>94</sup> Tyson wrote, “Without being precise about its actual contents, we may think of the pre-Marcionite gospel as similar to our Luke 3–23,” as a combination of Mark and Q composed “ca. 70–90 CE.”<sup>95</sup> Like Knox before him, Tyson thought that Marcion had omitted some material from this early edition of Luke, although he was apparently not consistent in this; on the other side, Tyson also thinks that the final editor

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<sup>94</sup> See Knox, *Marcion and the New Testament* (n. 28), 110, “containing approximately the same Markan and Matthean elements which our Luke contains and some of its peculiar materials.” See similarly Tyson, *Marcion and Luke-Acts* (n. 28), 119; BeDuhn, *First New Testament* (n. 8), 93. For Streeter's Q + L Proto-Luke, see Streeter, *The Four Gospels* (n. 40), 208–22; see also Joseph Verheyden, “Proto-Luke, and What Can Possibly Be Made of It,” in Paul Foster et al., *New Studies in the Synoptic Problem* (n. 2), 617–54.

<sup>95</sup> Tyson, *Marcion and Luke-Acts* (n. 28), 119.

of canonical Luke added material to this earlier *Vorlage*, especially the birth stories and additional resurrection material, but probably also the genealogy (CLk 3:23–38) and some other scattered *Sondergut* verses as well (e.g. CLk 5:39, unattested for MLk). The view that Marcion edited this pre-Lukan *Vorlage* allows the core propositions of the 2DH – namely, the priority of Mark, the independence of Matthew and Luke, and the existence of Q – to remain unaffected. The Q material missing from the beginning of MLk, according to Tyson, would have been deleted by Marcion as problematic: “apparently Marcion could not conceive of John as a predecessor or baptizer of Jesus, and the temptation story would almost certainly have been anathema to him.”<sup>96</sup>

BeDuhn takes a different approach because he is convinced that Marcion did not edit the pre-Lukan *Vorlage*, an idea that begins as evidence against the patristic view that Marcion edited Luke, but which has important implications for how BeDuhn views Q. As mentioned above, he argues that MLk provides support for the 2DH by illustrating that the minor agreements, one of its longstanding problems, probably originated as “secondary scribal harmonizations that have no bearing on the relationship among the original compositions.”<sup>97</sup> Although not all of the minor agreements disappear when MLk is considered instead of CLk – MLk 22:64 still contains one particularly “striking” minor agreement<sup>98</sup> – BeDuhn thinks that the origin of the phenomenon is proven. However, BeDuhn also claims that Q “would look different if the Evangelion is taken as the closer witness to [it] than Luke.”<sup>99</sup> Important but unstated here is BeDuhn’s view that because MLk does not show a consistent editorial plan when compared with CLk, Marcion could not have edited the *Vorlage* at all. This means that BeDuhn must explain the absence from MLk of material which, on the 2DH, is normally considered to have originally been from Mark or Q, but without recourse to Marcion’s editing.

BeDuhn focuses his brief discussion on the Q material missing from the beginning of MLk. He says that according to the 2DH, Q is thought to have been a collection (mainly) of sayings with no biographical or narrative arrangement, and that both Matthew and Luke had no alternative but to rely on Mark’s narrative as the basic framework into which to edit the Q material. The biographically-oriented material at the beginning of Q, however, is “the chief anomaly in the

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<sup>96</sup> Tyson, *Marcion and Luke-Acts* (n. 28), 117.

<sup>97</sup> BeDuhn, *First New Testament* (n. 8), 93.

<sup>98</sup> τίς ἐστὶν ὁ παῖσας σε; Roth, *Marcion’s Gospel* (n. 2), 433. I owe the pun to Steve D. Black, “One Really Striking Minor Agreement: ΤΙΣ ΕΣΤΙΝ Ο ΠΑΙΣΑΣ ΣΕ in Matthew 26:68 and Luke 22:64,” *NovT* 52 (2010): 313–33.

<sup>99</sup> BeDuhn, *First New Testament* (n. 8), 94.

currently accepted reconstruction of Q”: the preaching of John, the baptism of Jesus, and the temptation story.<sup>100</sup> BeDuhn states that apart from two chreiai (Q 7:1, 3, 6–9, ?10? and 11:14–15, 17–20), there are no narratives in Q, and the document as a whole seems to have no narrative structure.<sup>101</sup> This claim, however, does not take recent narratological work on Q into account.<sup>102</sup> Furthermore, although Q scholars allow for the genre of sayings collection to develop in the direction of bios, BeDuhn states that “we have no other example of a hybrid text of the sort Q is imagined to be, with a narrative introduction yielding to a sayings collection.”<sup>103</sup> John Kloppenborg thinks differently:

The development of an instruction to a *bios* is not unusual. At least part of the impetus for the introduction of biographical elements – a narrative introduction, for example – had to do with the inherent requirement of the instructional genre for legitimation for the sage’s words. The sayings of a well-known sage like Solomon might not require any special introduction; but in the cases of lesser-known sages (e.g., Ankhsheshonq) or sages whose legitimacy might be subject to challenge, special narratives might be added.<sup>104</sup>

For BeDuhn, MLk solves the “problem” of the narrative opening of Q, since MLk did not contain the John material, the baptism, or the temptation. BeDuhn also thinks these Q passages (Q 3:7–9; 3:16b–17; 3:[21–22]; 4:1–13) are anomalous in that they show a “word-for-word correspondence”: “such precise duplication of wording is actually quite unusual in the Q material, where Matthew and Luke typically show the same basic semantic content, but with considerable variation in exact wording.”<sup>105</sup> In addition, BeDuhn argues that the temptation story in

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**100** BeDuhn, *First New Testament* (n. 8), 94. The baptism of Jesus was rated by the International Q Project as in Q at a {C} level of certainty, with one general editor dissenting (not in Q at a {D} level of certainty). See *The Critical Edition of Q*, ed. James M Robinson, Paul Hoffmann, and John S. Kloppenborg (Hermeneia Supplements; Minneapolis: Fortress; Leuven: Peeters, 2000), 18–21.

**101** BeDuhn, *First New Testament* (n. 8), 94–95.

**102** See Michael Labahn, *Der Gekommene als Wiederkommender: Die Logienquelle als erzählte Geschichte* (ABIG 32; Leipzig: Evangelische Verlaganstalt, 2010); Michael Labahn, “Was ‘Lücken’ berichten: Exemplarische Beobachtungen zu narrativen ‘Gaps’ in Q,” in *Metaphor, Narrative, and Parables in Q*, ed. Dieter T. Roth, Ruben Zimmermann, and Michael Labahn (WUNT 315; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 163–88; Harry T. Fleddermann, “The Narrative of Jesus as the Narrative of God in Q,” in Dieter T. Roth et al., *Metaphor, Narrative, and Parables*, 141–62; Harry T. Fleddermann, “The Plot of Q,” *ETL* 88 (2012): 43–69.

**103** BeDuhn, *First New Testament* (n. 8), 94–95.

**104** John S. Kloppenborg, *Excavating Q: The History and Setting of the Sayings Gospel* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 2000), 202; for literature, see Kloppenborg, *The Formation of Q: Trajectories in Ancient Wisdom Collections* (Studies in Antiquity and Christianity; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987), 256–61.

**105** BeDuhn, *First New Testament* (n. 8), 95.



particular contains a great deal of vocabulary, and scriptural citations, atypical of Q in general.<sup>106</sup>

To explain these Matthew–Luke agreements in CLk 3–4, BeDuhn proposes that this material actually did not originate in the Q document, but comes from Matthew. In his view, the subsidiary use of Matthew in the composition of CLk not only explains the origin of this material, but also the statistically higher verbatim agreement found in these passages.<sup>107</sup> The problem BeDuhn does not address in his all-too-brief discussion of Q is that this material from Q 3–4 is not the only Q material missing from MLk (see Appendix 3). Also missing from MLk are the Sign of Jonah saying (Q 11:30–32), the saying announcing judgment on “this generation” (Q 11:49–51), the related saying announcing judgment on Jerusalem (Q 13:34–35), and the saying about sparrows (Q 12:6–7) – all sayings, not narrative. It is worth noting that the Jerusalem saying is attested as absent together with its *Sondergut* introduction (Luke 13:29–35 is attested as absent). This alone should suggest that a simplistic source-critical approach cannot explain the textual data. BeDuhn does not mention this material from the central sections of CLk, but perhaps he would think that this material also comes from Matthew (except for CLk 13:31–33). Problematic for BeDuhn’s theory, however, is the fact that levels of verbatim agreement between Matthew and Luke vary in all these pericopae, as shown in the following table.<sup>108</sup>

		# words in Luke	# words in common	percentage agreement
Q 3:7–9	Preaching of John	72	60	83 %
Q 3:17	The Coming One	25	22	88 %
Q 4:2–13	Temptation	180	92	51 %
	Temptation: words of Jesus	27	23	85 %
	Temptation: other words	153	69	45 %
Q 11:29–32	Sign of Jonah	97	74	76 %
	v. 29a (unattested for MLk)	6	1	17 %
	v. 29b (in MLk)	18	13	72 %
	v. 30 (not in MLk)	18	8	44 %

<sup>106</sup> BeDuhn, *First New Testament* (n. 8), 95.

<sup>107</sup> BeDuhn, *First New Testament* (n. 8), 95.

<sup>108</sup> Percentages are based on the statistics in Robert Morgenthaler, *Statistische Synopse* (Zürich; Stuttgart: Gotthelf, 1971), 70–84.



Continued

		# words in Luke	# words in common	percentage agreement
	vv. 31–32 (not in MLk)	55	52	95 %
Q 11:49–51	Judgment vs This Generation	58	21	36 %
Q 12:6–7	More than Sparrows	30	21	70 %
Q 13:28	Dining with Patriarchs (in MLk)	29	9	31 %
Q 13:29	From East and West (not in MLk)	18	9	50 %
Q 13:34–35	Judgment against Jerusalem	53	45	85 %

Only Q 11:31–32 and 13:34–35 show the same kind of verbatim agreement as in the Baptist material in Q 3:7–9, 17. On the low end of the range is Q 11:49–51 at about 36%, so we do not see the results expected by BeDuhn for all the Q material absent from MLk.

However, the more serious problem is arguing that variation in verbatim agreement demonstrates differentiation in source material. Clearly Matthew and Luke varied in how closely they followed Mark as a source, and the same is true of Q. Further, as Kloppenborg has shown, “a more proximate explanation of such variability is found in the widespread practice of rhetorical paraphrase of sources, or the practice of authors revising their own works following private oral performances ... which assisted them in crafting more persuasive or felicitous formulations.”<sup>109</sup> This should be an obvious lesson to learn from sifting Marcion's Gospel out of Tertullian and Epiphanius. The other problem with allowing for a subsidiary use of Matthew by Luke is that it opens the door for the alternative explanation of the minor agreements, which BeDuhn is actually keen to exclude: if the use of Matthew by CLk explains the agreements in the Q 3–4 material, then it could also explain the origin of pericopae such as the pronouncement of judgment on “this generation” (Q 11:49–51) and the lament over Jerusalem (Q 13:34–35) which are also absent from MLk; furthermore, if as BeDuhn claims the editor of CLk had access to Matthew for his revision of the pre-Lukan *Vorlage*, then clearly other minor agreements of Matthew and Luke against Mark that remain in MLk may have originated not as scribal harmonizations, but as by-products of this consultation of Matthew. Thus the case for Q is weakened, in the end.

<sup>109</sup> John S. Kloppenborg, “Variation in the Reproduction of the Double Tradition and an Oral Q?” *ETL* 83 (2007): 53–80 (79–80).

In fact, the evidence for Q in Marcion's Gospel is quite problematic, unless one allows for the likelihood that Marcion edited the pre-Lukan *Vorlage*. Only a few Q passages after Q 4 are attested as absent from MLk, but of these, a couple are mixed in their attestation, with some elements certainly present, and others certainly absent (Q 11:29–32; 12:6–7). With the Sign of Jonah saying (Q 11:29–32), for example, verse 29 is attested as present in MLk but verses 30–32 are attested absent. If we follow BeDuhn, should we suppose that one verse came from Q and the others from Matthew? A similar situation is found with the Q references to the figure ὁ ἐρχόμενος: Q 3:17 is attested absent from MLk, Q 7:19 present, and Q 13:35 absent. Can only Q 7:19 be traced to the pre-Lukan *Vorlage* and from there to Q? And yet there seems to be a coherence to the three references when Q as reconstructed by the IQP is read as a whole. Furthermore, while Q 3:17 is absent together with all the material at the beginning of CLk, Q 13:35 is absent from MLk as part of a larger block that includes one of the *Sondergut* references to Jesus' journey to Jerusalem (CLk 13:31–33), which suggests that whatever explanation is offered for the absence of Q 13:34–35 from MLk, and its presence in CLk, has to account for this whole section (CLk 13:29–35).<sup>110</sup> Although it is possible that the canonical editor of Luke took verses 34–35 from Matthew and composed a fitting *Sondergut* introduction to the saying, it seems more probable in my view that the unit derives from Q and the hand of the original author, but was deleted by Marcion.

## 6 Conclusion: Troubling the Waters

It is not difficult to imagine – but it would be impossible to prove – a scenario to explain all the phenomena examined in this paper, namely: (1) that the traditional view of MLk as a revision of CLk fails to convince, in particular because (2) CLk 24 (as one example) seems more developed theologically than counterpart in MLk, and (3) certain telling bits of Lukan *Sondergut* are curiously missing from MLk; (4) that the case for the dependence of Mark on MLk is weak; and (5) that the Q material is broadly attested as present, with a very few striking and sometimes ambiguous exceptions. Such an imaginative attempt runs somewhat as follows. First, an author acquires copies of a narrative biography about Jesus (Mark) and a collection of his sayings (Q), and combines them in a new composition together with other material of his own free composition. Our au-

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<sup>110</sup> A similar situation is found in Luke 22:50–51: both verses are attested as absent from MLk, but verse 50 is from Mark, and verse 51 is *Sondergut*.

thor may have considered these acquired documents (Mark and Q) unpublished notes or reminiscences (ὑπομνήματα, ἀπομνημονεύματα) and subject to free revision.<sup>111</sup> Next, unsure of how this new composition, which begins with John the Baptist much as Mark and Q did, would be received, our author shares it with an interested colleague or two in his network of authors and readers, or with his patron.<sup>112</sup> Or, possibly, this new draft is acquired by others who circulate it without our author's consent. Next, this Proto-Luke (as it were) is copied and circulates, somehow reaching Marcion, perhaps quite a few years later, who reads it with great interest. Marcion (or perhaps members of his school, either during his career or afterwards) edits the text without a coherent plan, removing a few items, because he did not like how it began, but adding nothing. Meanwhile, or perhaps long before Marcion acquires this text, the same composition is then revised by the original author, through the addition of parallel birth stories, possibly a genealogy, material to sharpen the central section in which Jesus travels to Jerusalem, and a revised conclusion that emphasizes the connectedness of the truly authorized form of the movement both to the Scriptures and to the risen Jesus and his Twelve, in a secondary compositional stage that probably did not have Marcionism per se as its polemical target. Then, our author sends it (again?) to his patron along with his other new composition, the Acts of the Apostles, and these slowly begin to circulate at the same time that Marcion's version of the text is also being read and used and copied and edited by his followers, and eventually by his detractors. Ultimately, it might be realistic to imagine more than three "editions" of Luke circulating in the second century.

In my view, this scenario explains the data we have when we compare the newly reconstructed MLk with the Synoptics, and it is, again in my view, less problematic than BeDuhn's proposal, which categorically excludes Marcion as an editor, but also much more realistic than the imaginative reconstruction of the origin of the gospels proposed by Vinzent and Klinghardt. Like their reconstruction, mine also is impossible to prove. This scenario also takes into account possibilities about multiple copies/versions/editions of a single text circulating simultaneously either with or without the consent of the original author. Regardless, the main benefit of situating Marcion's Gospel within the Synoptic Problem is that its evidence reminds us, by troubling the waters, what the last generation

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**111** See Larsen, "Accidental Publication" (n. 4), 377.

**112** On the patronage and networking in the circulation and publication of texts in antiquity, see Pieter J. J. Botha, "'Publishing' a Gospel: Notes on Historical Constraints to Gospel Criticism," in *The Interface of Orality and Writing: Speaking, Seeing, Writing in the Shaping of New Genres*, ed. A. Weissenrieder and R. B. Coote (Biblical Performance Criticism Series 11; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2015), 335–52 (343–6, 347–8).

of gospel scholarship has increasingly realized: namely, that the Synoptic Problem is only solvable in abstract, not only because of the problems involved in imagining an “original” version of a gospel, but also because solutions are only hypotheses, however useful they might be for reading and reconstructing the beginnings of Christianity; and that the data that arise from patterns of reception and transmission in the second century show that the answer to the question of “what really happened” in the composition and earliest circulation of the gospels can only be imagined, and never proven.

## Appendix 1: Lukan Sondergut in Marcion's Gospel<sup>113</sup>

<del>Luke 1:1–4</del>	Lukan Prologue	attested as absent
<del>Luke 1:5–2:52</del>	Infancy Narrative	attested as absent
<b>Luke 3:1</b>	Luke's Chronological Introduction	attested as present
<del>[Luke 3:2]</del>	Introduction of John	unattested (probably absent)
<del>[Luke 3:10–15]</del>	John's Preaching	unattested (probably absent)
<del>Luke 3:18–20</del>	The Arrest of John	attested as absent
<del>Luke 3:23–38</del>	Lukan Genealogy	attested as absent
[Luke 4:14–15]	Jesus in Galilee	unattested
[Luke 4:16–24]	Sermon in Nazareth	unattested except for parts of vv. 16, 23
<b>Luke 4:25–30</b>	Sayings about Elijah and Elisha	vv. 27, 29–30 attested; remainder unattested
Luke 5:1–11	Miraculous Catch of Fish	vv. 2, 9–11 attested; remainder unattested
[Luke 5:39]	Old Wine is Better	unattested
<b>Luke 6:24–26</b>	The Lukan Woes	attested as present
Luke 7:11–17	Raising the Widow's Son	vv. 12, 14–16 attested; remainder unattested
Luke 7:36–50	Jesus Anointed at Simon's (Mark)	vv. 36–38, 44–48, 50 attested; remainder unattested
Luke 8:1–3	Women Followers in Galilee	vv. 2–3 attested; v. 1 unattested
<del>Luke 9:31b</del>	Speaking of His Departure	LkS element in Transfiguration story absent
[Luke 9:51]	He Set His Face toward Jerusalem	Luke 9:49–53 unattested
Luke 9:52–56	Not Received in Samaria	vv. 54–55 attested; remainder unattested
<b>Luke 9:61–62 (Q?)</b>	Third Would-Be Follower	attested
<b>Luke 10:1</b>	Jesus Sends Seventy-Two	attested
Luke 10:17–20	Return of the Seventy-Two	v. 19 attested; remainder unattested
[Luke 10:29–37]	The Good Samaritan	Luke 10:29–42 unattested

<sup>113</sup> Certain significant *Sondergut* elements embedded in triple or double tradition material, and longer units deemed to have been adapted and/or transposed from Mark, have been included here: Luke 9:31b, 9:51, 13:22, 17:11, and 18:34; Luke 21:18, 21–22 (attested as absent from MLK); Luke 7:36–50 and 22:24–27, which derive from Mark but have been thoroughly Lukanized and transposed. Details about attestation in the heresiologists are based on Roth, *Marcion's Gospel* (n. 2), 49–78. Attestation is designated as follows: **bold**, whole unit (or nearly) attested as present; normal, unit partially attested, whole unit possibly present; **bold strikethrough**, whole unit attested as absent; ~~normal strikethrough~~, unit partially attested as absent, partially unattested – whole unit probably absent; ~~[normal strikethrough]~~, whole unit unattested, probably absent; [normal], whole unit unattested.

[Luke 10:38–42]	With Mary and Martha	Luke 10:29–42 unattested
<b>Luke 11:5–8</b>	The Friend at Midnight	vv. 5.7–8 attested
<b>Luke 11:22</b>	LkS in Beelzebub Accusation	attested
<b>Luke 11:27–28</b>	Saying on True Blessedness	attested
[Luke 11:53–54]	Scribes & Pharisees Plot	Luke 11:53–54 unattested
<b>Luke 12:13–15</b>	Guard Against Covetousness	vv. 13–14 attested; remainder unattested
<b>Luke 12:16–21</b>	The Rich Fool	vv. 16, 19–20 attested; remainder unattested
<b>Luke 12:35–38</b>	The Watchful Slaves	attested
<b>Luke 12:41</b>	Question from Peter	attested
<b>Luke 12:47–48</b>	Punishments on Slaves	attested
Luke 12:54–56 (Q?)	Signs of the Weather	v. 56 attested; remainder unattested
<del>Luke 13:1–9</del>	Parable of the Fig Tree	Luke 13:1–9 attested as absent
Luke 13:10–17	Healing a Daughter of Abraham	vv. 14–16 attested; remainder unattested
[Luke 13:22–23]	Making His Way to Jerusalem	unattested
<del>Luke 13:31–33</del>	Warning about Herod	Luke 13:29–35 attested as absent
[Luke 14:1–6]	Healing a Man with Dropsy	Luke 14:1–11 unattested
Luke 14:7–10, 12–14	Sayings on Banqueting and Honor	vv. 12, 14 attested; remainder unattested
<b>Luke 14:24</b>	Conclusion of Supper Parable	attested
[Luke 14:25]	Intro to Q Sayings on Discipleship	Luke 14:25–35 unattested
[Luke 14:28–32]	The Costs of Discipleship	Luke 14:25–35 unattested
<b>Luke 15:8–10 (Q?)</b>	The Lost Coin	attested
<del>Luke 15:11–32</del>	The Prodigal Son	attested as absent
<b>Luke 16:1–9</b>	The Dishonest Manager	vv. 2, 4–7, 9a attested; remainder unattested
<b>Luke 16:10–12</b>	Sayings about Faithfulness	vv. 11–12 attested; remainder unattested
<b>Luke 16:14–15</b>	Pharisees Shamed	attested
<b>Luke 16:19–31</b>	Lazarus and the Rich Man	attested
<del>Luke 17:7–10</del>	Slaves and Their Duties	v. 10b attested as absent; remainder unattested
[Luke 17:11]	While Travelling to Jerusalem...	unattested (introduction to Luke 17:12–19)
<b>Luke 17:12–19</b>	Healing of Ten Lepers	vv. 12, 14–19 attested; remainder unattested
<b>Luke 17:20–22</b>	The Coming of the Kingdom	attested
Luke 17:28–30 (Q?)	As in the Days of Lot	v. 28 attested; vv. 29–30 unattested
Luke 18:1–8	The Widow and the Judge	vv. 1–3, 5, 7 attested; remainder unattested
<b>Luke 18:9–14</b>	The Pharisee & the Tax-Collector	vv. 10–14 attested; v. 9 unattested
<del>[Luke 18:34]</del>	Disciples' Lack of Understanding	Luke 18:31–33 attested as absent; v. 34 unattested
<b>Luke 19:1–10</b>	Encounter with Zacchaeus	vv. 2, 6, 8–10 attested; remainder unattested

<del>Luke 19:39–40</del>	The Stones Will Cry Out	Luke 19:29–46 attested as absent
<del>Luke 19:41–44</del>	Weeping over Jerusalem	Luke 19:29–46 attested as absent
<del>Luke 21:18, 21–22</del>	LkS in Eschatological Discourse	attested as absent
Luke 21:34–38	Watch and Pray	vv. 34a, 37–38 attested; vv. 35b–36 unattested
<del>Luke 22:15–17</del>	Additional Last Supper Material	v. 16 attested as absent; vv. 15, 17 unattested
[Luke 22:29]	Conferring a Kingdom	Luke 22:23–32 unattested
[Luke 22:31–32]	Saying for Simon Peter	Luke 22:23–32 unattested
<del>Luke 22:35–38</del>	Saying about Two Swords	attested as absent
<del>Luke 22:51</del>	Healing at the Arrest	attested as absent (with v. 50, Mar- kan)
Luke 23:6–12	Jesus before Herod	vv. 7–9 attested; vv. 6, 10–12 unat- tested
[Luke 23:13–16]	Pilate's Decision about Jesus	unattested
[Luke 23:27–31]	Daughters of Jerusalem	unattested
<del>Luke 23:39b–43</del>	Dialogue with the Two Criminals	v. 43 attested as absent; remainder unattested
<del>Luke 24:12</del>	Peter Inspects the Empty Tomb	unattested
<del>Luke 24:13–35</del>	On the Road to Emmaus	vv. 13, 15–16, 18–19, 21a, 25–26, 30–31 attested; remainder unattest- ed
<del>Luke 24:36–43</del>	Appearance to the Eleven	vv. 37–39, 41–43 attested; vv. 36, 40 unattested
Luke 24:44–53	Commissioning and Ascension	v. 47 attested; remainder unattested

Lukan *Sondergut* in MLk (Luke 1–3 not included)<sup>114</sup>

total verses	present	[unattested]	absent
339	134	143	62
100%	39.5 %	42.1 %	18.3 %

<sup>114</sup> These statistics represent counts of Lukan *Sondergut* attestation for MLk, by individual verse, and not by unit. The fourth column in each table represents the sum of both those verses attested as absent and unattested verses I judged were absent from MLk (normally because the unattested verses are proximate to other verses or sections attested as absent). The sums represent totals as follows: 62 verses with Luke 1–3 not included (51 attested absent, plus 11 unattested but judged absent); 220 verses with Luke 1–3 included (202 attested absent, plus 18 unattested but judged absent).

Lukan Sondergut in MLk total (Luke 1–3 included)

total verses	present	[unattested]	absent
498	135	143	220
100 %	27.1 %	28.7 %	44.2 %

Appendix 2: The Empty Tomb Story in Mark, Luke, and Marcion’s Gospel

Luke 24:1–12 (NA28)	Marcion 24:1–12 (Roth) <sup>115</sup>	Marcion 24:1–12 (Klinghardt) <sup>116</sup>	Mark 16:1–8 (NA28)
<p><sup>1</sup> Τῇ δὲ μιᾷ τῶν σαββάτων ὄρθρου βαθέως ἐπὶ τὸ μνημα ἦλθον φέρουσαι ἃ ἠτοίμασαν ἄρώματα.</p>	<p><sup>1</sup> ... {ὄρθρου βαθέως ἦλθον ἐπὶ τὸ μνημα} (φέρουσαι ἃ) <i>ἠτοίμασαν ἄρώματα.</i></p>	<p><sup>1</sup> Τῇ δὲ μιᾷ τῶν σαββάτων ὄρθρου βαθέως <u>ἐπὶ τὸ μνημα ἦλθον φέρουσαι ἃ ἠτοίμασαν</u> [ἄρώματα]. {ἐλογίζοντο δὲ ἐν ἑαυταῖς· τίς ἄρα ἀποκυλίσει</p>	<p><sup>1</sup> Καὶ διαγενομένου τοῦ σαββάτου Μαρία ἡ Μαγδαληνὴ καὶ Μαρία ἡ [τοῦ] Ἰακώβου καὶ Σαλώμη ἠγόρασαν ἄρώματα ἵνα ἐλθοῦσαι ἀλείψωσιν αὐτόν. <sup>2</sup> καὶ λίαν πρῶτῃ τῇ μιᾷ τῶν σαββάτων ἔρχονται ἐπὶ τὸ μνημεῖον ἀνατείλαντος τοῦ ἡλίου.</p> <p><sup>3</sup> καὶ ἔλεγον πρὸς ἑαυτάς· τίς ἀποκυλίσει ἡμῖν</p>

115 The reconstruction is taken from Roth, *Marcion’s Gospel* (n. 2), 434–5. Roth uses different typefaces (etc.) to show varying degrees of certainty, as follows: **bold**, secure readings; **bold italics**, very likely readings; normal, probable readings; *italics*, possible readings; (parentheses), readings where the wording is uncertain; {curly brackets}, readings where word order is uncertain; and the ellipsis (. . .) indicates unattested segments of verses (Roth, *Marcion’s Gospel* (n. 2), 410–12).

116 The reconstruction is taken from Klinghardt, *Das älteste Evangelium* (n. 8), 2:1116–17. Klinghardt also uses different typefaces as follows: **bold underlined**, attested verbatim by the heresiologists; **bold**, attested by the heresiologists in paraphrase; normal, unattested by the heresiologists but probably present; *italics*?, unattested, an opinion is not possible; {brackets}, attested for MLk but not present in CLK; [petit], unattested and probably not present in MLk; [petit], attested as absent by the heresiologists, definitely not in MLk (Klinghardt, *Das älteste Evangelium* (n. 8), 2:452–53).



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Luke 24:1–12 (NA28)	Marcion 24:1–12 (Roth) <sup>115</sup>	Marcion 24:1–12 (Klinghardt) <sup>116</sup>	Mark 16:1–8 (NA28)
<sup>2</sup> εὔρον δὲ τὸν λίθον	<sup>2</sup> unattested	τὸν λίθον;}	τὸν λίθον ἐκ τῆς θύρας τοῦ μνημείου;
ἀποκεκυλισμένον ἀπὸ τοῦ μνημείου,		ἀποκεκυλισμένον [ἀπὸ τοῦ μνημείου],	<sup>4</sup> καὶ ἀναβλέψασαι θεωροῦ-σιν ὅτι ἀποκεκύλισται ὁ λίθος· ἦν γὰρ μέγας σφόδρα.
<sup>3</sup> εἰσελθοῦσαι δὲ οὐχ εὔρον	<sup>3</sup> ... οὐχ	<sup>3</sup> εἰσελθοῦσαι δὲ οὐχ εὔρον	<sup>5</sup> Καὶ εἰσελθοῦσαι εἰς τὸ μνημεῖον
τὸ σῶμα τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ.	εὔρον τὸ σῶμα ...	τὸ σῶμα [ τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ.	
<sup>4</sup> καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ ἀπορεῖσ-θαι αὐτάς περὶ	<sup>4</sup> ... (ἐν τῷ ἀπορεῖσ-θαι αὐτάς περὶ τούτου) ...	<sup>4</sup> καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ ἀπορεῖσ-θαι αὐτάς περὶ	
τούτου καὶ ἰδοὺ ἄν-δρες δύο	{δύο ἄγγελοι <sup>a</sup> (ἐν ἐσθῇτι ἀστραπούσῃ.)	τούτου [καὶ] ἰδοὺ ἄνδρες δύο	εἶδον νεανίσκον καθή-μενον ἐν τοῖς δεξιοῖς περιβεβλη-μένον στολήν λευκὴν, καὶ ἔξεθαμβήθησαν.
ἐπέστησαν αὐταῖς ἐν ἐσθῇτι ἀστραπούσῃ.		ἐπέστησαν αὐταῖς ἐν ἐσθῇτι ἀστραπούσῃ.	
<sup>5</sup> ἐμφόβων δὲ γενο-μένων αὐτῶν καὶ κλι-νουσῶν τὰ πρόσωπα εἰς τὴν γῆν εἶπαν πρὸς αὐτάς·	<sup>5</sup> ...	<sup>5</sup> ἐμφόβων δὲ γενο-μένων αὐτῶν καὶ κλι-νουσῶν τὰ πρόσωπα εἰς τὴν γῆν εἶπαν πρὸς αὐτάς·	<sup>6</sup> ὁ δὲ λέγει αὐταῖς· μὴ ἐκθαμβεῖσθε· Ἰησοῦν ζητεῖτε τὸν Ναζα-ρηνὸν τὸν ἐσταυρωμένον·
τί ζητεῖτε τὸν ζῶντα μετὰ τῶν νεκρῶν;	τί ζητεῖτε τὸν ζῶντα μετὰ τῶν νεκρῶν;	τί ζητεῖτε τὸν ζῶντα μετὰ τῶν νεκρῶν;	
<sup>6</sup> οὐκ ἔστιν ὧδε, ἀλλ' ἠγέρθη.	<sup>6</sup> ... ἠγέρθη,	<sup>6</sup> [οὐκ ἔστιν ὧδε, ἀλλ' ἠγέρθη.]	ἠγέρθη, οὐκ ἔστιν ὧδε· ἶδε
μνήσθητε ὡς ἐλάλησεν ὑμῖν ἔτι ὦν ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ	μνήσθητε ὅσα ἐλάλησεν (ὕμῖν ἔτι ὦν ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ)	μνήσθητε ὅσα ἐλάλησεν ὑμῖν ἔτι ὦν μεθ' ὑμῶν	ὁ τόπος ὅπου ἔθηκαν αὐτόν.
<sup>7</sup> λέγων τὸν υἱὸν	<sup>7</sup> ... ὅτι δεῖ {τὸν υἱὸν	<sup>7</sup> [λέγων] ὅτι τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ	<sup>7</sup> ἀλλ' ὑπάγετε εἶπατε
τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὅτι δεῖ παραδοθῆναι εἰς χεῖρας	τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παραδοθῆναι}	ἀνθρώπου ὅτι δεῖ παραδοθῆναι [εἰς χεῖρας	τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ τῷ Πέτρῳ ὅτι προάγει

Continued

Luke 24:1–12 (NA28)	Marcion 24:1–12 (Roth) <sup>115</sup>	Marcion 24:1–12 (Klinghardt) <sup>116</sup>	Mark 16:1–8 (NA28)
ἀνθρώπων ἀμαρτω- λῶν καὶ σταυρωθῆναι καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀναστῆναι. <sup>8</sup> καὶ ἐμνήσ- θησαν τῶν ῥημάτων αὐτοῦ. <sup>9</sup> Καὶ ὑποστρέψασαι	... καὶ <b>σταυρωθῆναι καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀναστῆναι.</b> <sup>8</sup> unattested  <sup>9</sup> ... <b>ὑποστρέψασαι</b>	ἀνθρώπων ἀμαρτωλῶν] καὶ <b>σταυρωθῆναι καὶ ᾤμετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας? ἀναστῆναι.</b> <sup>8</sup> ᾤκαὶ ἐμνήσ- θησαν τῶν ῥημάτων αὐτοῦ.?) <sup>9</sup> <b>Καὶ ὑποστρέψασαι</b>	ὕμᾱς εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν·  ἐκεῖ αὐτὸν ὄψεσθε,  καθὼς εἶπεν ὑμῖν.  <sup>8</sup> Καὶ ἐξελθοῦσαι ἔφυγον ἀπὸ τοῦ μνημείου, εἶχεν γὰρ αὐτὰς τρόμος καὶ ἔκστασις· καὶ οὐδενὶ οὐδὲν εἶπαν· ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ.
ἀπὸ τοῦ μνημείου ἀπήγγει- λαν ταῦτα πάντα τοῖς ἔνδε-	<b>ἀπὸ τοῦ μνημείου ἀπήγγει- λαν</b> (ταῦτα πάντα) ...	[ἀπὸ τοῦ μνημείου] <b>ἀπήγγει- λαν πάντα ταῦτα</b> τοῖς [ἐνδε-	
κα καὶ πᾶσιν τοῖς λοιποῖς. <sup>10</sup> ἦσαν δὲ ἡ Μαγδαληνὴ Μαρία καὶ Ἰωάννα καὶ Μαρία ἡ Ἰακώβου καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ σὺν αὐταῖς. ἔλεγον πρὸς τοὺς ἀπο- στόλους ταῦτα, <sup>11</sup> καὶ ἐφάνησαν ἐνώπιον αὐτῶν ὥσει λῆρος τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα, καὶ ἠπίστουν αὐταῖς. <sup>12</sup> Ὁ δὲ Πέτρος ἀνα- στάς ἔδρα- μεν ἐπὶ τὸ μνημεῖον καὶ παρακύψας βλέ- πει τὰ ὀθόνια μόνα, καὶ ἀπῆλθεν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν θαυμάζων τὸ γεγονός.	καὶ καὶ {ἀποστόλοις} καὶ λοιποῖς πᾶσιν. <sup>10</sup> [ἦσαν δὲ] Μαγδαληνὴ Μαρία καὶ Ἰωάννα καὶ Μαρία ἡ Ἰακώβου. [καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ σὺν αὐταῖς ἔλεγον ταῦτα πρὸς τοὺς ἀποστόλους.] <sup>11</sup> καὶ ἐφάνησαν ἐνώπιον αὐτῶν ὥσει λῆρος τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα, καὶ <b>ἠπίστουν αὐταῖς.</b> <sup>12</sup> [Ὁ δὲ Πέτρος ἀνα- στάς ἔδρα- μεν ἐπὶ τὸ μνημεῖον καὶ παρα-κύψας βλέ- πει τὰ ὀθόνια μόνα, καὶ ἀπῆλθεν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν θαυ-μάζων τὸ γεγονός.]	καὶ καὶ {ἀποστόλοις} καὶ λοιποῖς πᾶσιν. <sup>10</sup> [ἦσαν δὲ] Μαγδαληνὴ Μαρία καὶ Ἰωάννα καὶ Μαρία ἡ Ἰακώβου. [καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ σὺν αὐταῖς ἔλεγον ταῦτα πρὸς τοὺς ἀποστόλους.] <sup>11</sup> καὶ ἐφάνησαν ἐνώπιον αὐτῶν ὥσει λῆρος τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα, καὶ <b>ἠπίστουν αὐταῖς.</b> <sup>12</sup> [Ὁ δὲ Πέτρος ἀνα- στάς ἔδρα- μεν ἐπὶ τὸ μνημεῖον καὶ παρα-κύψας βλέ- πει τὰ ὀθόνια μόνα, καὶ ἀπῆλθεν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν θαυ-μάζων τὸ γεγονός.]	

## Appendix 3: Double Tradition (Q) Material in Marcion's Gospel<sup>117</sup>

<del>Luke 3:7–9;</del> <del>16–17</del>	The Preaching of John	attested as absent
<del>Luke 4:1–13</del>	The Temptation of Jesus	attested as absent
Luke 6:20–23	Q Sermon: Beatitudes	attested
Luke 6:27–32, 34–36	Q Sermon: On Love of Enemy	vv. 27–30a, 31, 34a, 35b–36 attested; remainder unattested
Luke 6:37–46	Q Sermon: On Judging (etc.)	vv. 37–43, 45–46 attested; v. 44 unattested
[Luke 6:47–49]	Q Sermon: Houses on Rock or Sand	unattested
Luke 7:1, 3, 6–10	The Centurion in Capernaum	vv. 2 (Lk), 9 attested; remain- der unattested
Luke 7:18–19, 22–23	John's Question about Jesus	attested
Luke 7:24–28	John, More than a Prophet	vv. 24, 26–28 attested; v. 25 unattested
[Luke 7:31–35]	This Generation, Wisdom's Children	Luke 7:29–35 unattested
Luke 9:57–60	Potential Followers	attested
Luke 10:2–16	Q Mission Instructions (etc.)	vv. 4–5, 7–11, 16 attested; remainder unattested
Luke 10:21–24	Sayings on Revelation	attested
Luke 11:2–4	The Lord's Prayer	attested
Luke 11:9–13	Ask, Seek, Knock (etc.)	vv. 9, 11–13 attested; v. 10 unattested
Luke 11:14–15, 17–20	Beelzebul Accusation	vv. 14–15, 18–20 attested; vv. 16–17 unattested
[Luke 11:23–26]	Unclean Spirit Returns	unattested
<del>*Luke 11:16],</del> <del>29–32</del>	Sign of Jonah	v. 29 attested; v. 16 unattest- ed; vv. 30–32 absent
Luke 11:33–35	Sayings on Illumination	v. 33 attested; vv. 34–35 un- attested
Luke 11:39–44	Woes against the Pharisees	vv. 39–43 attested; v. 44 un- attested
Luke 11:46, 52, 47–48	Woes against Exegetes	attested

<sup>117</sup> The list of Q material is adapted from Robinson et al., *The Critical Edition of Q* (n. 100)

.It was not possible to represent the IQP determinations about the contents and order of Q in precise detail. As in Appendix 1, information about attestation is taken from Roth, *Marcion's Gospel* (n. 2), and the same typefaces are used. In this section, the pericopae marked with an asterisk show unexpectedly mixed attestation (present and absent from MLk) that deserve closer study.

<del>Luke 11:49–51</del>	Judgment on This Generation	attested as absent
*Luke 12:2–12	Fearless Confession (etc.)	vv. 2–5, 8–12 attested; v. 7 unattested; v. 6 absent
[Luke 12:33–34]	Treasures in Heaven	unattested
Luke 12:22–31	Ravens and Lilies	vv. 22–24, 27–28, 30–31 attested; remainder unattested
Luke 12:39–40	Son of Humankind like a Robber	attested
Luke 12:42–46	Faithful and Unfaithful Slaves	attested
Luke 12:51–53	Children against Parents	vv. 51, 53 attested; v. 52 unattested
Luke 12:58–59	Settling out of Court	attested
Luke 13:18–21	Parables: Mustard Seed & Yeast	vv. 19–21 attested; v. 18 unattested
Luke 13:24–30	Excluded from Entry	vv. 25–28 attested; v. 24 unattested; vv. 29–30 absent
<del>Luke 13:34–35</del>	Judgment on Jerusalem	Luke 13:29–35 attested as absent
Luke 14:16–23	Parable of the Great Supper	attested
[Luke 14:26–27, 34–35]	Sayings on Discipleship	unattested
[Luke 17:33]	Finding or Losing One's Life	unattested
Luke 16:13, 16–18	Miscellaneous Sayings	attested
Luke 17:1–2	Against Enticing Little Ones	attested
Luke 15:4–7	Parable of the Lost Sheep	attested
Luke 17:3–4, 6	Sayings on Forgiveness and Faith	vv. 3–4 attested; v. 6 unattested
Luke 17:23–35	The Son of Humankind	vv. 25–26, 28, 32 attested; remainder unattested
Luke 19:12–26	Parable of the Entrusted Money	v. 13, 22–23 attested; remainder unattested
[Luke 22:28, 30]	Judging the Twelve Tribes	Luke 22:23–32 unattested

Double Tradition (Q) Material in MLk (Luke 3–4 not included)<sup>118</sup>

total verses	present	[unattested]	<b>absent</b>
213	128	74	11
100 %	60.0 %	34.8 %	5.2 %

Double Tradition (Q) Material in MLk (Luke 3–4 included)

total verses	present	[unattested]	<b>absent</b>
231	128	74	29
100 %	55.4 %	32.0 %	12.6 %

<sup>118</sup> As in Appendix 1, these statistics represent counts of Double Tradition (Q) material attestation for MLk, by individual verse. Unlike the earlier tables, the figure in the fourth column represents only material attested as absent (and nothing unattested but arguably absent).

## Appendix 4: Canonical Luke's Markan Material in Marcion's Gospel<sup>119</sup>

<del>[Luke 3:3–6]</del>	John in the Scriptures	unattested, probably absent
<del>Luke 3:21–22</del>	The Baptism of Jesus	attested as absent
Luke 4:31–44	In Capernaum	vv. 31–35, 40–43 attested; remainder unattested
Luke 5:12–16	Leper Healed	vv. 12–14 attested; vv. 15–16 unattested
Luke 5:17–26	Paralytic Healed	vv. 17–18, 20–21, 24, 26 attested; remainder unattested
Luke 5:27–32	Call of Levi	vv. 27, 30–31 attested; remainder unattested
Luke 5:33–39	Question about Fasting	vv. 33–38 attested; v. 39 (LkS) unattested <sup>120</sup>
<b>Luke 6:1–5</b>	Plucking Grain on the Sabbath	attested; location of v. 5 uncertain
Luke 6:6–11	Man with Withered Hand Healed	vv. 6–7, 9 attested; remainder unattested
<b>Luke 6:12–19</b>	Calling Twelve; Occasion of Sermon	vv. 12–14, 16–17, 19 attested; vv. 15, 18 unattested
Luke 7:36–50	Jesus Anointed at Simon's House	vv. 36–38, 44–48, 50 attested; remainder unattested
Luke 8:4–15	Parable of the Sower, Interpretation	vv. 4, 8 attested; remainder unattested
<b>Luke 8:16–18</b>	Hidden Lantern	attested
Luke 8:19–21	True Family	vv. 20–21 attested; v. 19 attested as absent
<b>Luke 8:22–25</b>	Stilling the Storm	attested
Luke 8:26–39	Casting out Legion	vv. 27–28, 30–32 attested; remainder unattested
[Luke 8:40–42a, 49–56]	Jairus's Daughter Raised	Luke 8:33–42a, 49–56 unattested
<b>Luke 8:42b–48</b>	Woman Healed en Route	vv. 42b–46, 48 attested; v. 47 unattested
<b>Luke 9:1–6</b>	The Twelve Sent Out	vv. 1–3, 5–6 attested; v. 4 unattested
<b>Luke 9:7–9</b>	Opinions about Jesus	vv. 7–8 attested; v. 9 unattested

<sup>119</sup> Again, information about attestation is taken from Roth, *Marcion's Gospel* (n. 2), and the same indicators are used as in the above appendices.

<sup>120</sup> Roth notes concerning Luke 5:36–38 that the parable “is attested in multiple sources; however, the precise wording can no longer be reconstructed” (Roth, *Marcion's Gospel* (n. 2), 414).

Luke 9:10–17	The Twelve Return; Multitude Fed	vv. 12–14, 16–17 attested; vv. 10–11, 15 unattested
<b>Luke 9:18–22</b>	Peter's Confession; Passion Prediction	attested
Luke 9:23–27	Conditions of Discipleship	vv. 24, 26 attested; remainder unattested
<b>Luke 9:28–36</b>	Jesus Transfigured	vv. 28–31a, 32–36 attested; v. 31b (LkS) absent
Luke 9:37–43a	Possessed Boy Healed	vv. 40–41 attested; remainder unattested
Luke 9:43b–45	Second Passion Prediction	v. 44 attested; vv. 43b, 45 unattested
<b>Luke 9:46–48</b>	Dispute about Greatness	attested but insight into wording is not possible <sup>121</sup>
[Luke 9:49–50]	Unauthorized Exorcist	Luke 9:49–53 unattested
<b>Luke 10:25–28</b>	Inheriting Eternal Life	attested
Luke 11:21	Binding the Strong Man	attested
<b>Luke 12:1</b>	Leaven of the Pharisees	attested
Luke 17:31–32	Do Not Turn Back	v. 32 attested; v. 31 unattested
Luke 18:15–17	Blessing the Children	v. 16 attested; vv. 15, 17 unattested
Luke 18:18–30	The Rich Entering the Kingdom	vv. 18–23 attested; vv. 24–30 unattested
<del>Luke 18:31–33</del>	Third Passion Prediction	vv. 31–33 attested as absent
<b>Luke 18:35–43</b>	Blind Man Healed	attested
<del>Luke 19:28–38</del>	Entry into Jerusalem	v. 28 unattested; Luke 19:29–46 attested as absent
<del>Luke 19:45–46</del>	Temple Incident	Luke 19:29–46 attested as absent
[Luke 19:47–48]	Chief Priests Conspire	unattested
Luke 20:1–8	Question about Authority	vv. 1, 4–8 attested; vv. 2–3 unattested
<del>Luke 20:9–19</del>	Parable of the Tenants	v. 19 attested; v. 18 unattested; remainder absent
Luke 20:20–26	Question about Taxes to Rome	vv. 24–25 attested; remainder unattested
Luke 20:27–40	Question about Resurrection	vv. 27–31, 33–36, 38b–40 attested; vv. 32, 40 unattested; vv. 37–38a attested as absent
Luke 20:41–44	Question about the Son of David	vv. 41, 44 attested; vv. 42–43 unattested
[Luke 20:45–47]	Beware of the Scribes	unattested
[Luke 21:1–4]	The Generous Widow	unattested

<sup>121</sup> Roth, *Marcion's Gospel* (n. 2), 421.

Luke 21:5–33	Mark's Apocalyptic Discourse	vv. 7–17, 19–20, 25–33 attested; vv. 5–6, 23–24 unattested; vv. 18, 21–22 (LkS) attested as absent <sup>122</sup>
Luke 22:1–2	Plot Against Jesus	v. 1 attested; v. 2 unattested
Luke 22:3–6	Judas Consults with Chief Priests	vv. 3–5 attested; v. 6 unattested
Luke 22:7–14	Preparation for Passover	vv. 8, 14 attested; vv. 7, 9–13 unattested
Luke 22:18–20	Words over Bread and Cup	vv. 19–20 attested; v. 18 unattested
Luke 22:21–23	Prediction of Betrayal	v. 22b attested; vv. 21–22a, 23 unattested
[Luke 22:24–27]	Dispute over Greatness	Luke 22:23–32 unattested
<b>Luke 22:33–34</b>	Prediction of Peter's Denial	attested
Luke 22:39–46	Prayer on the Mount of Olives	v. 41 attested; vv. 39–40, 42–46 unattested
Luke 22:47–54	Jesus Arrested	vv. 47–48 attested; vv. 49, 52–54 unattested; vv. 50 (Mark) and 51 (LkS, not counted here) absent
[Luke 22:55–62]	Peter Denies Jesus	Luke 22:52–62 unattested
Luke 22:63–65	Jesus Abused by Captors	vv. 63–64 attested; v. 65 unattested
<b>Luke 22:66–71</b>	Jesus Questioned by the Sanhedrin	vv. 66–67, 69–71 attested; v. 68 unattested
Luke 23:1–5	Jesus Before Pilate	vv. 1–3 attested; vv. 4–5 unattested
Luke 23:17–23	Jesus or Barabbas	vv. 18–19, 22–23 attested; v. 17, 20–21 unattested
Luke 23:24–25	Jesus Condemned	v. 25 attested; v. 24 unattested
[Luke 23:26]	Simon the Cyrenian	Luke 23:26–31 unattested
Luke 23:32–39a	Crucifixion and Mockery	vv. 32–34 attested; <sup>123</sup> vv. 35–39 unattested
Luke 23:44–49	The Death of Jesus	vv. 44–46 attested; vv. 47–49 unattested
<b>Luke 23:50–56</b>	Burial	vv. 50–53, 55–56 attested; v. 54 unattested
Luke 24:1–11	Empty Tomb and Report	vv. 1, 3–7, 9, 11 attested; vv. 2, 8, 10 unattested

<sup>122</sup> As noted above, in Appendix 1. These Sondergut verses are not included in the calculations given below.

<sup>123</sup> Roth, *Marcion's Gospel* (n. 2), 434: v. 34a is attested by Ephrem, but unattested by Tertullian and Epiphanius; and v. 34b is attested as not present by Tertullian, but present by Epiphanius.



Luke's Markan Material in MLk (Luke 3 excepted)<sup>124</sup>

total verses	present	[unattested]	absent
416	216	168	32
100%	51.9%	40.4%	7.7%

Luke's Markan Material in MLk (Luke 3 included)

total verses	present	[unattested]	absent
422	216	168	38
100%	51.2%	39.8%	9.0%

<sup>124</sup> As in the other appendices, these statistics represent counts of Luke's Markan material attestation for MLk, by individual verse.

## Appendix 5: Attestation Levels by Material Types

Attestation Levels by Material Type: Luke 1:1–4:13 excluded

type of material	present	[unattested]	<b>absent</b>
Lukan Sondergut	39.5 %	42.1 %	18.3 %
Double Tradition (Q)	60.0 %	34.8 %	5.2 %
Luke's Markan Material	51.9 %	40.4 %	7.7 %

Attestation Levels by Material Type: Luke 1:1–4:13 included

type of material	present	[unattested]	<b>absent</b>
Lukan Sondergut	27.1 %	28.7 %	44.2 %
Double Tradition (Q)	55.4 %	32.0 %	12.6 %
Luke's Markan Material	51.2 %	39.8 %	9.0 %

## Appendix 6: Material Attested as Absent

Material Attested as Absent: Luke 1:1–4:13 excluded

type of material	verses	percentage
Lukan Sondergut	62	59.0 %
Double Tradition (Q)	11	10.5 %
Luke's Markan Material	32	30.5 %
total	105	100 %

Material Attested as Absent: Luke 1:1–4:13 included

type of material	verses	percentage
Lukan Sondergut	220	76.7 %
Double Tradition (Q)	29	10.1 %
Luke's Markan Material	38	13.2 %
total	287	100 %



Katharina Greschat

# „Worte Gottes, verkündigt von den Aposteln“

## Evangelienzitate bei Justin

Vielen Evangelientexten, sowohl kanonischen als auch nicht kanonischen, geht es darum, die Person Jesu Christi und seine Lehre mit Hilfe von Intertextualität in einen größeren Bedeutungszusammenhang einzuordnen, der den Rezipienten bereits vertraut war. Dazu nutzten sie selbstverständlich das Textmaterial der Septuaginta als den entscheidenden Schlüssel, um die Worte Jesu und sein Geschick zu verorten und zu deuten.<sup>1</sup> Insofern ist es nur folgerichtig, dass die frühen Christen schon sehr bald so etwas wie „reading communities“<sup>2</sup> bildeten, in denen sie die Texte der Septuaginta mit dem Wirken Jesu Christi zu einer einzigen, bis in die Gegenwart reichende Aussage verknüpften. In seiner Apologie beschreibt Justin den Gottesdienst als einen solchen Ort, an dem diese Verbindung geschah. Er berichtet dort von privaten oder halböffentlichen Versammlungen,<sup>3</sup> bei denen ein Vorleser einen Abschnitt aus den Schriften vortrug: entweder aus den Schriften der Propheten, wodurch Jesu Reden und Wirken ganz offenbar als Erfüllung der prophetischen Verheißungen verstanden wurden, oder aber aus den Texten, die Justin als „Erinnerungen der Apostel“<sup>4</sup> bezeichnete. Auf dieser Grundlage hielt der Vorsteher anschließend eine ethisch ausgerichtete Ansprache, die auf die *imitatio* des Gehörten abzielte.<sup>5</sup> Dann nahm die Versammlung,

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1 John S. Kloppenborg, „Literate Media in Early Christian Groups: The Creation of a Christian Book Culture,“ *J ECS* 22 (2014): 21–59, hier 39, formuliert mit Brian Stock: „a critical stage in the formation of community identity: historicizing the community by giving it a past through intertextuality.“

2 William A. Johnson, *Readers and Reading Cultures in the High Roman Empire: A Study of Elite Communities, Classical Culture and Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 32–62. Kritisch setzt sich mit diesem Konzept jetzt Jörg Rüpke, „The Role of Texts in Processes of Religious Grouping during the Principate,“ *Religion in the Roman Empire* 2 (2016): 170–196, auseinander.

3 1 Apol. 67,4.

4 Justin verwendete diese Bezeichnung nur in der Apologie (66,3 und 67,3–4) und sehr explizit dreizehn Mal im Dial. 100–107.

5 1 Apol. 67,4.; H. Gregory Snyder, *Teachers and Texts in the Ancient World: Philosophers, Jews and Christians* (London/New York: Routledge, 2000) nennt diesen Umgang mit den Texten eine „textual performance“.

vergleichbar mit anderen Kultgemeinschaften im römischen Reich,<sup>6</sup> ein gemeinsames Mahl ein.<sup>7</sup> Justin betont explizit, dass dieses Mahl genau so geschehe, wie von den Aposteln in den „Erinnerungen der Apostel“ beschrieben, wobei er diese „Erinnerungen“ ausdrücklich mit den Evangelien gleichsetzte.<sup>8</sup>

Justin verstand die Evangelien demnach als von den Aposteln verfasste Texte über Jesus Christus, die Ethos und Ritus all derjenigen prägen sollten, die sich zu ihm bekennen. Natürlich würde man nun noch gerne viel genauer wissen, welche Evangelientexte in diesen Gottesdiensten gelesen und wie sie interpretiert und ausgelegt wurden, doch sagt Justin nichts dazu, weil das ganz offensichtlich nicht sein Thema war. Denn seine erhaltenen Schriften richteten sich gerade nicht an Mitchristen, sondern – zumindest der Form nach – an römische Kaiser bzw. Statthalter und an Vertreter des hellenistischen Judentums. Schließlich besaßen die Evangelientexte bei keinem dieser beiden avisierten Adressatenkreise eine verbindliche Autorität.<sup>9</sup> Doch auf geschickte Weise ließ Justin die Evangelien bzw. Zitate daraus auch in diesen Diskursen eine wichtige Rolle spielen.<sup>10</sup> So zeichnete er seinen Gesprächspartner Tryphon als jemanden, der selbstverständlich mit Interesse die Lehren der Christen, die im sogenannten Evangelium stehen, gelesen hatte und dem diese Lehren groß, bedeutsam und für normale Menschen fast schon zu erhaben zu sein schienen.<sup>11</sup> Und auch in seiner Verteidigungsschrift

**6** Kloppenborg, „Literate Media“ (Anm. 1), 42f.

**7** Vgl. dazu Luise Abramowski, „Die Erinnerungen der Apostel bei Justin,“ in *Das Evangelium und die Evangelien*, hg.v. Peter Stuhlmacher (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1983), 341–354, hier 341. Hermut Löhr, „Binitarian Worship? Zur impliziten Theologie des frühchristlichen Gottesdienstes, dargestellt an Justin 1. Apol. 61–67,“ in *Reflections on the Early Christian History of Religion. Erwägungen zur frühchristlichen Religionsgeschichte*, hg.v. Cilliers Breytenbach und Jörg Frey (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2013), 211–229.

**8** 1 Apol. 66,3. Vgl. auch Eric F. Osborn, „Justin Martyr,“ *BHTh* 47, (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1973), 120–138 und Charles E. Hill, „Justin and the New Testament Writings,“ *Studia Patristica* 30 (1997): 42–48.

**9** Das betont auch Oskar Skarsaune, „Justin and His Bible,“ in *Justin Martyr and His Worlds*, hg.v. Sara Parvis und Paul Foster (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2007), 53–76, hier 72f.; Graham Stanton, *Jesus and Gospel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 94 und Charles E. Hill, *Who Choose the Gospels? Probing the Great Gospel Conspiracy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 126f.

**10** Das wird von C. H. Cosgrove, „Justin Martyr and the Emerging Christian Canon: Observations on the Purpose and Destination of the Dialogue with Trypho,“ *VigChr* 36 (1982): 209–232 nicht wahrgenommen. Vgl. dazu auch Hill, *Who Choose the Gospels?* (Anm. 9), 129f.

**11** Dial. 10,2: Τοῦτ' ἔστιν ὁ θαυμάζομεν, ἔφη ὁ Τρύφων, περὶ δὲ ὧν οἱ πολλοὶ λέγουσιν, οὐ πιστεῦσαι ἄξιον· πόρρω γὰρ κεχώρηκε τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως. ὑμῶν δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ λεγομένῳ εὐαγγελίῳ παραγγέλματα θαυμαστὰ οὕτως καὶ μεγάλα ἐπίσταμαι εἶναι, ὥς ὑπολαμβάνειν μηδένα δύνασθαι φυλάξαι αὐτά· ἐμοὶ γὰρ ἐμέλησεν ἐντυχεῖν αὐτοῖς, Demgegenüber nennt Justin Crescens

bezieht Justin sich immer wieder ausdrücklich auf die Apostel, die den Heiden die Tatsachen über Jesus und über die Propheten verkündigt<sup>12</sup> und „die alles auf unsern Erlöser Jesus Christus Bezügliche aufgezeichnet haben.“<sup>13</sup> Indem Justin das Christentum in beiden Werken als die eigentliche Philosophie bezeichnete und sich selbst als Anhänger, Verteidiger und Verkündiger dieser Lehre verstand,<sup>14</sup> schrieb er die Evangelien in einen philosophischen Bedeutungszusammenhang ein und wählte für sie wohl sehr bewusst die Bezeichnung „Erinnerungen der Apostel“, um an bekannte, philosophisch geprägte Textmuster anzuknüpfen.<sup>15</sup> Möglicherweise wollte er mit der Bezeichnung ἀπομνημονεύματα auch deutlich machen, dass er selbst ein Anhänger dieser Person und Lehre war, von der die Apostel in direkter Weise Zeugnis abgelegt haben.<sup>16</sup> Justin gebrauchte neben dieser Bezeichnung auch den Begriff „Evangelien“ oder im Singular „Evangelium“<sup>17</sup> und meinte damit in jedem Fall schriftlich vorliegende Texte,<sup>18</sup> auf die er

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in seiner 2. Apologie lediglich einen so genannten Philosophen, weil er zwar das Christentum verhöhne, aber von den Lehren der Christen schlechterdings gar nichts wisse (2 Apol. 3).

**12** 1 Apol. 49,5.

**13** 1 Apol. 33,5 ὡς οἱ ἀπομνημονεύσαντες πάντα τὰ περὶ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐδίδαξαν.

**14** Möglicherweise hat sich Justin an dieser Stelle auch von der diadochischen Philosophiegeschichtsschreibung anregen lassen, wie sie bei Diogenes Laertius fassbar wird; vgl. zu diesem Thema etwa Walter von Kienle, *Die Berichte über die Sukzession der Philosophen in der hellenistischen und spätantiken Literatur* (Berlin: Ernst-Reuter-Gesellschaft, 1961). Schließlich ist das Ziel dieser Texte, aus den verschiedenen Schulen die Ursprungsstimme zu entdecken und aufzuweisen, wo sie in der Gegenwart gehört werden kann. Nach Ansicht von Allen Brent, „Diogenes Laertius and the Apostolic Succession,“ *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 44 (1993): 367–389 war dieses Modell enorm prägend für das frühe Christentum.

**15** Vgl. Nils Hyldahl, „Hegesipps Hypomnemata,“ *StTh* 14 (1960): 70–113 und Helmut Koester, *Ancient Christian Gospels: Their History and Development* (Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1990), 37–40; neuerdings insbesondere Gabriella Aragione, „Justin ‚philosophe‘ chrétien et les mémoires des apôtres qui sont appelés évangiles,“ *Apocrypha* 15 (2004): 41–56 und Wally V. Cirafesi und Gregory P. Fewster, „Justin’s ἀπομνημονεύματα and Ancient Greco-Roman Memoirs,“ *Early Christianity* 7 (2016): 186–212.

**16** Das wird von Thomas Hägg, *The Art of Biography in Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012) sowohl im Hinblick auf Xenophons Memorabilia (25–30) als auch im Hinblick auf Lukians Demonax (299) betont. Dass eine solche Bezeichnung im zweiten Jahrhundert keineswegs unüblich war, zeigt Aragione, „Justin ‚philosophe‘ chrétien“ (Anm. 15), 47–50, die auf Cels. VI,41 verweist. Hier wird deutlich, dass Origenes noch wusste, dass ein gewisser Moeragenes die Erinnerungen (ἀπομνημονεύματα) des Apollonius von Tyana, Magier und Philosophen, aufgezeichnet hat.

**17** Theo K. Heckel, *Vom Evangelisten Markus zum viergestaltigen Evangelium*, WUNT 120 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999), 309–329, meint, dass Justin sein Material aus den kanonischen Evangelien schöpft.

sich in seinen beiden erhaltenen Werken immer wieder explizit auch in Form von direkten Zitaten bezog. Deren Textgestalt und die in Justins Schriften immer wieder festzustellende Neigung, Zitate verschiedener Ursprungstexte miteinander zu verknüpfen, hat immer wieder Anlass zu kontroversen Diskussionen gegeben;<sup>19</sup> neuerdings hat man jedoch betont, dass diese Art des Umgangs mit Texten zu Zeiten Justins keineswegs so ungewöhnlich war.<sup>20</sup> Darüber hinaus hat John Kloppenborg die überzeugende These vorgetragen, wonach philosophische Schulen – gerade die platonischen – dazu neigten, autoritative Texte mit Kommentaren zu verblenden, was die ausgiebige Verwendung von „conflated citations“<sup>21</sup> bei Justin plausibel machen könnte.

An dieser Stelle soll es weniger um die Textgestalt der Zitate, sondern um die Frage gehen, in welchen Zusammenhängen Justin auf direkte Zitate aus der Evangelientradition zurückgriff. Insofern interessiert an dieser Stelle insbesondere ihr Inhalt und der den Zitaten beigelegte Bezugsrahmen,<sup>22</sup> damit anhand ausgewählter Beispiele<sup>23</sup> in den Blick genommen werden kann, wie Justin in diesem philosophisch geprägten Kontext seiner Apologie und seines Dialogs mit Tryphon sein ganz eigenes Profil von der Person und Botschaft Jesu Christi ent-

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**18** In 1 Apol. 66,3; Dial. 10,2 und Dial. 100,1; vgl. zur Aufarbeitung des Materials vor Justin jetzt James A. Kelhoffer, „How Soon a Book? Revisited: EUATTEAION as a Reference to ‚Gospel‘: Materials in the First Half of the Second Century“, *ZNW* 95 (2004): 1–34.

**19** Weil Justins Zitate keinem der Evangelien genau entsprechen, ist darüber spekuliert worden, ob er aus dem Gedächtnis oder ungenau zitiert, ob er eine Evangelienharmonie benutzt oder aber ein wörtliches Zitat für nicht erstrebenswert gehalten habe, vgl. zuletzt Andrew Gregory, *The Reception of Luke and Acts in the Period before Irenaeus*, WUNT 169 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), 222–225 und Joseph Verheyden, „Justin’s Text of the Gospels: Another Look at the Citations in 1Apol.15.1–8“, in *The Early Text of the New Testament*, hg.v. Charles E. Hill und Michael J. Kruger (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 313–335.

**20** Vgl. dazu jetzt Sean A. Adams und Seth M. Ehorn, Hg., *Composite Citations in Antiquity I: Jewish, Graeco-Roman, and Early Christian Uses*, Library of New Testament Studies 525 (London/Oxford: Bloomsbury, 2016).

**21** Vgl. hierzu den Beitrag von John Kloppenborg im vorliegenden Band.

**22** Vgl. dazu auch die wichtigen Überlegungen von Joseph Verheyden, „Assessing Gospel Quotations in Justin Martyr“, in *New Testament Textual Criticism and Exegesis FS Joël Delobel*, BETHL 161, hg.v. Adelbert Denaux (Leuven: Peeters, 2002), 361–377, hier 363. Vgl. auch ders., „Justin’s Text“ (Anm. 19), 320–335, der sich besonders auf Justins Bemerkungen und Kommentare zwischen den einzelnen Zitaten konzentriert.

**23** Im Rahmen dieses Aufsatzes kann natürlich nicht jede explizite Bezugnahme auf Evangelientexte ausführlich diskutiert werden.



wickelt hat.<sup>24</sup> Offensichtlich brauchte diese Botschaft in Justins Augen eben auch Justins eigene Deutung und Verkündigung als Nachfolger der Apostel.

## 1 Lehre und Lehraussprüche Jesu<sup>25</sup>

Für die Argumentation der Apologie ist zunächst die Feststellung wichtig, dass die Lehre Christi, den Justin nicht nur als Gottessohn oder Gesandten Gottes, sondern immer wieder und mit großem Nachdruck als den Lehrer der Christen bezeichnete,<sup>26</sup> gut und zuverlässig überliefert sei.<sup>27</sup> Fragt man nun etwas genauer nach den Inhalten dieser Lehre, dann sind es nach Justins Darstellung zum einen die Tugenden<sup>28</sup> und zum anderen Jesu Unterrichtung über das Weltende und das Endgericht sowie die damit verbundene Hoffnung auf ein Leben nach dem Tod, die jeden Christen zur Ausübung eben dieser Tugenden und zur Weitergabe dieser Lehre anhalten.<sup>29</sup> Ausdrücklich möchte Justin die Lehraussprüche Jesu von den Sprüchen der Sophisten abgrenzen und präsentiert seiner Leserschaft deshalb einige von Jesu Sprüchen zur gründlicheren Prüfung.<sup>30</sup> Dass gerade bei den Sophisten solche als ἀπομνημονεύματα bezeichneten Zusammenstellungen von

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**24** Philippe Bobichon, „Composite Features and Citations in Justin Martyr’s Textual Composition,“ in *Composite Citations in Antiquity I* (Anm. 20), 158–181, hier 158, unterstreicht die Bedeutung der Zitate für Justins Schriften: „far from being reduced to illustrations or proofs for the argument advanced, they contribute in various manners to the text’s very composition and conception.“

**25** Arthur J. Bellinzoni, *The Sayings of Jesus in the Writings of Justin Martyr*, NovTSup 17, (Leiden: Brill, 1967) sowie Stanton, *Jesus and Gospel* (Anm. 9), 95–99, jedoch mit etwas anderer Zielsetzung.

**26** 1 Apol. 4,7; 6,2; 8,3; 12,9; 14,4 u. ö.

**27** Das betont auch Stanton, *Jesus and Gospel* (Anm. 9), 95.

**28** 1 Apol. 6,2.

**29** 1 Apol. 8,3. Als einen Lehrer in der Tradition seines Lehrers Christus versteht sich natürlich auch Justin selbst, vgl. dazu Ulrich Neymeyr, *Die christlichen Lehrer im zweiten Jahrhundert: Ihre Lehrtätigkeit, ihr Selbstverständnis und ihre Geschichte*, SVigChr 4 (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 1989), 33–35. Die Bedeutung der Aussprüche Jesu in ethischer Hinsicht betont auch Donald A. Hagner, „Sayings of Jesus in the Apostolic Fathers and Justin Martyr,“ in *Gospel Perspectives: The Gospel Tradition Outside the Gospels*, hg. v. David Wenham (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1984), 233–268, hier 256.

**30** 1 Apol. 14,4. Zum Kontext dieser längeren Sammlung von Lehraussagen Jesu, vgl. auch Verheyden, „Justin’s Text“ (Anm. 20), 320–334.

bemerkenswerten Sprüchen beliebt waren, ist bezeugt.<sup>31</sup> Doch anders als deren Lehrsprüche seien die Aussprüche Jesu – so betont Justin – deutlich knapper formuliert und voller Gotteskraft.<sup>32</sup> Schon mit dieser markanten Abgrenzung, bei der Justin ganz offenbar die Zustimmung seiner Leserschaft voraussetzen konnte, machte er unmissverständlich klar, dass er diese Lehraussagen Jesu als philosophische Aussagen verstanden und beurteilt wissen wollte.<sup>33</sup> Dieser Einleitung folgt eine beeindruckende Sammlung von sechsundzwanzig Logien zu ethischen Themen, die vor allem auf Material aus der matthäischen Bergpredigt und der lukanischen Feldrede basiert.<sup>34</sup> Bei Justin sind sie zu einer einheitlichen Aussage verdichtet und gleichsam miteinander verschmolzen. Doch Justin geht es nicht nur darum, deutlich zu machen, dass Jesus Christus als philosophischer Lehrer tätig war und die Christen deshalb eine anspruchsvolle ethische Lehre verkündigen und diese auch mit ihrem eigenen Leben bezeugen; vielmehr verknüpft er die Anforderungen an die christliche Lebensführung geschickt mit dem drohenden Endgericht, in dem von jedem Menschen Rechenschaft gefordert werden wird, wie schließlich auch Christus selbst gesagt hat: „Wem Gott mehr gegeben hat, von dem wird auch mehr gefordert werden.“<sup>35</sup> Die Christen glauben nämlich nicht allein an die Unsterblichkeit bzw. an die Bestrafung der menschlichen Seele

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31 So überliefert Philostrate eine lange Zusammenstellung solcher Sprüche des Sophisten Alexander, die interessanterweise aber auch deswegen kritisiert wurden, weil sie zu pompös formuliert seien, vgl. *Vitae Sophistarum* II,5,4,574.

32 1 Apol. 14,5; vgl. auch Osborn, „Justin Martyr“ (Anm. 8), 123 und Aragione, „Justin ‚philosophe chrétien‘“ (Anm. 15), 51f.

33 Nach Michael Erler, *Platon* (München: C.H. Beck, 2006), 64f. wird Sokrates von Platon gleichsam als Kontrastfigur zu den Sophisten gezeichnet. In dieser Tradition grenzt auch Philo von Alexandrien Mose als einen Philosophen von den Sophisten ab, vgl. *De vita Mosis* II,212.

34 Bellinzoni, *Sayings* (Anm. 25), 80 geht davon aus, dass Justin hier eine eigene Quelle verwendet hat: „and there is even evidence to indicate that Justin used a written source which came from a catechetical tradition which in turn was dependent on liturgical praxis of the post-apostolic church and which itself harmonized elements from both Matthew and Luke.“ Leslie L. Kline, „Harmonized Sayings of Jesus in the Pseudo-Clementine Homilies and Justin Martyr,“ *ZNW* 66 (1975): 223–241 nimmt eine vorsynoptische Logiensammlung an. Verheyden, „Justin’s Text“ (Anm. 20), gibt jedoch zu bedenken, dass Justin diesen Text durchaus auch eigens zu diesem Zweck zusammengestellt haben könnte.

35 1 Apol. 17,4 οἱ πλεον ἔδωκεν ὁ θεός, πλεον καὶ ἀπαιτηθήσεται παρ’ αὐτοῦ nach Lk 12,48; vgl. dazu auch Bellinzoni, *Sayings* (Anm. 25), 73–75. Zu Justins Vorstellung der doppelten Parusie Christi vgl. auch Graham Stanton, „The Two Parousias of Christ: Justin Martyr and Matthew,“ in *From Jesus to John: Essays on Jesus and New Testament Christology*, hg.v. Martin C. De Boer (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993), 183–195.

nach dem Tod – das tun auch viele Philosophen<sup>36</sup> –, sie trauen ihrem Gott noch sehr viel mehr zu, weil sie sogar auf vollkommen unmöglich Scheinendes wie die leibliche Auferstehung hoffen, wie Christus schließlich ebenfalls selbst gesagt hat.<sup>37</sup> Doch Christus hatte darüber hinaus auch die Zukunft von Leib und Seele des Menschen im Blick und warnte mit seinen eigenen Worten davor, dass Gott des Menschen Leib und Seele gleichermaßen in die Hölle stürzen könne.<sup>38</sup> Diese Aussage Christi über die Hölle erläutert Justin folgendermaßen: „Die Hölle aber ist ein Ort, wo diejenigen gezüchtigt werden sollen, die unrecht gelebt haben und nicht an die Erfüllung dessen glauben, was Gott durch Christus gelehrt hat.“<sup>39</sup> Einmal mehr betont Justin hier die enge Verbindung von tugendhaftem Leben und dem Glauben an das, was durch Christus vor allem im Hinblick auf das Ende mit seinen eigenen Worten gelehrt worden ist. Aber auch im Dialog mit Tryphon findet sich genau diese Verknüpfung als ein zentraler Inhalt der Lehre Christi, die Justin deshalb ebenfalls ausdrücklich wörtlich wiedergibt:

Denn Christus hat uns gelehrt, auch für die Feinde zu beten, wenn er sagte: ‚Seid gütig und barmherzig wie euer Vater im Himmel!‘ Wir sehen ja, dass auch der allmächtige Gott gütig und barmherzig ist, dass er seine Sonne aufgehen lässt über Undankbare und Gerechte, dass er regnen lässt über Heilige und Sünder; sie alle wird er auch, wie er lehrte, richten.<sup>40</sup>

Mit der Bezugnahme auf die Lehre Christi vom göttlichen Gericht schafft Justin an dieser Stelle einen ganz eigenen Kontext für Jesu Aussagen über die Güte und Barmherzigkeit Gottes und betont zugleich, dass die Christen – zu denen er sich hier explizit selbst zählt – dieser Lehre unbedingt Folge leisten. Justin ist sich zwar dessen bewusst, dass sein jüdischer Gesprächspartner die christliche Lehre für vollkommen widersinnig hält, doch muss Justin, nach eigenem Bekunden, dennoch alles daran setzen, Tryphon und die Seinigen davon zu überzeugen, um

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**36** Justin nennt nicht nur die berühmten Orakel, sondern verweist auch auf die Werke des Empedokles, Pythagoras, Platon und Homer, vgl. 1 Apol. 18,4–5.

**37** 1 Apol. 19,6 nach Mt 19,26, Mk 10,27 und Lk 18,20; vgl. dazu auch Bellinzoni, *Sayings* (Anm. 25), 107f. Vgl. auch Jörg Ulrich, „Innovative Apologetik: Beobachtungen zur Originalität Justins am Beispiel der Lehre vom logos spermatikos und anderer Befunde“, *ThLZ* 130 (2005): 3–16, hier 11f.

**38** 1 Apol. 19,7 nach Mt 10,28 und Lk 12,4f.; vgl. dazu auch Bellinzoni, *Sayings* (Anm. 25), 108–110.

**39** 1 Apol. 19,8 ἡ δὲ γέννᾳ ἐστὶ τόπος, ἔνθα κολάζεσθαι μέλλουσιν οἱ ἀδίκως βίωσαντες καὶ μὴ πιστεύοντες ταῦτα γενήσεσθαι ὅσα ὁ θεὸς διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐδίδαξε.

**40** Dial. 96,3 καὶ πρὸς τούτοις πᾶσιν εὐχόμεθα ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, ἵνα ἐλεηθῇτε ὑπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ. οὗτος γὰρ ἐδίδαξεν ἡμᾶς καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν εὐχεσθαι, εἰπὼν· Γίνεσθε χρηστοὶ καὶ οἰκτίρμονες, ὥς καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν ὁ οὐράνιος. καὶ γὰρ τὸν παντοκράτορα θεὸν χρηστὸν καὶ οἰκτίρμονα ὁρώμεν, τὸν ἥλιον αὐτοῦ ἀνατέλλοντα ἐπὶ ἀχαρίστους καὶ δικαίους, καὶ βρέχοντα ἐπὶ ὁσίους καὶ πονηροὺς, οὓς πάντας ὅτι καὶ κρίνειν μέλλει ἐδίδαξε; vgl. Bellinzoni, *Sayings* (Anm. 25), 8–14 und 37–43.

nicht selbst im göttlichen Gericht schuldig zu werden.<sup>41</sup> Justin betont an anderer Stelle, dass die rechten Christen sich auch um die Gläubigen sorgen müssen, weil sie ja wissen, dass jeder, der die Wahrheit verkündigen könnte und das nicht tut, dem göttlichen Gericht verfällt.<sup>42</sup> Wie in der Apologie sind auch hier das Endgericht und die leibliche Auferstehung zentrale Bestandteile der Lehre Christi,<sup>43</sup> für deren Erläuterung und Bekräftigung Justin gerne auf dessen eigene Aussagen verweist.<sup>44</sup>

Andererseits – und auch das ist für Justin ein Hinweis darauf, dass Christus die Zukunft kannte<sup>45</sup> – wusste schon Christus selbst um das Auftreten von Irrlehrern in seinem Namen und hat es deshalb auch explizit und wörtlich vorhergesagt:

Er hat nämlich gesagt: ‚Viele werden kommen in meinem Namen, die äußerlich mit Schafspelz bekleidet sind, innerlich aber reißende Wölfe sind.‘ Ferner hat er erklärt: ‚Es wird Spaltungen und Häresien geben.‘ ‚Hütet euch vor den falschen Propheten, welche zu euch kommen werden, äußerlich mit Schafspelzen bekleidet sind, innerlich aber reißende Wölfe sind.‘ ‚Viele falsche Christus und falsche Apostel werden aufstehen und werden viele von den Gläubigen verführen.‘<sup>46</sup>

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**41** Dial. 38,2 διὸ συμπαθῶν ὑμῖν προσκάνειν ἀγωνίζομαι, ὅπως τὰ παράδοξα ἡμῶν ταῦτα νοήσῃτε, εἰ δὲ μή, ἵνα καὶ αὐτὸς ἀθῶος ᾖ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κρίσεως. Schon in Dial. 8,2 hatte Justin den Wunsch formuliert, dass sich niemand von den Lehren des Erlösers abwenden möge.

**42** Dial. 82,1f.

**43** Nach Ansicht von Justin folgen die Christen der Lehre Jesu, während die Trypho und seine Anhänger eine konkurrierende Lehre vertreten und Lehrern folgen, die lediglich ihre eigenen Lehren, aber nicht die von Gott durch den Geist der Prophetie geoffenbarten Lehren verkünden, vgl. Dial. 38,2.

**44** Dial. 81,4; vgl. auch Bellinzoni, *Sayings* (Anm. 25), 126 f. An dieser Stelle erwähnt Justin als einen der Apostel den Johannes, von dem die Offenbarung stamme. In Dial. 47,5 zitiert Justin eine Aussage Jesu: „so wie ich euch treffen werde, werde ich euch auch richten,“ die sich keinem der uns bekannten Evangelien zuweisen lässt, vgl. zu diesem Agraphon auch Bellinzoni, *Sayings* (Anm. 25), 131–134 und ders., „The Source of the Agraphon in Justin Martyr’s Dialogue with Trypho 47:5,“ *VigChr* 17 (1963): 65–70.

**45** Auch in 1 Apol. 12,10 betont Justin, dass Christus als Lehrer vertrauenswürdig ist, weil alles, was er als zukünftig vorhergesagt hat, auch tatsächlich eingetroffen sei.

**46** Dial. 35,3 εἶπε γάρ· Πολλοὶ ἐλεύσονται ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματί μου, ἔξωθεν ἐνδεδυμένοι δέρματα προβάτων, ἔσωθεν δὲ εἰσι λύκοι ἄρπαγες. καὶ Ἔσονται σχίσματα καὶ αἵρέσεις. καὶ Προσέχετε ἀπὸ τῶν ψευδοπροφητῶν, οἵτινες ἐλεύσονται πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἔξωθεν ἐνδεδυμένοι δέρματα προβάτων, ἔσωθεν δὲ εἰσι λύκοι ἄρπαγες. καὶ Ἀναστήσονται πολλοὶ ψευδόχριστοι καὶ ψευδαπόστολοι, καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν πιστῶν πλανήσουσιν. Vgl. zu dieser Zusammenstellung von Zitaten aus Evangelienmaterial auch Bellinzoni, *Sayings* (Anm. 25), 100–106. Ganz ähnlich äußert sich Justin auch in Dial. 80,2, ohne hier jedoch wörtlich aus den Evangelien zu zitieren.

Justin nutzt diese Aussagen Jesu, um sich angesichts der Behauptung des Tryphon, wonach ja schließlich auch viele Christen vom Opferfleisch essen,<sup>47</sup> explizit von denen zu distanzieren, die sich in seinen Augen lediglich Christen nennen, aber, wie die Valentinianer oder Basilidianer, gar keine wahren Christen sind.<sup>48</sup> Einmal mehr werden hier mehrere Aussagen Jesu zusammengenommen, weil sie in Justins eigene Auseinandersetzung mit anderen christlichen Gruppen hinein sprechen.<sup>49</sup> Gerade im Diskurs mit Tryphon geht Justin aber noch weiter und liest nicht nur die alttestamentlichen Schriften, insbesondere die Propheten, als Zeugen für Christus und seine Botschaft,<sup>50</sup> sondern möchte auch größere Zusammenhänge bis in die unmittelbare Gegenwart hinein aufzeigen. So kann er etwa eine große Linie von den Weherufen des Jesaja über das ungläubige Volk, das nicht umkehren und zu seinem Gott zurückkehren will, zu den von ihm wörtlich angeführten Weherufen Jesu über Pharisäer und Schriftgelehrte ziehen.<sup>51</sup> Ein gebildeter Mann wie Tryphon kenne ja nicht nur die alttestamentlichen Schriften, sondern eben auch die Evangelien.<sup>52</sup> Schließlich habe Christus selbst mit seinen eigenen Worten darauf hingewiesen, dass Gottes endgültiges Urteil sowohl über die Guten als auch über die Schlechten ergehen werde und dass diejenigen, die das Heil nicht erlangen werden, tatsächlich und endgültig verurteilt sind.<sup>53</sup> Justin kann aber auch einen Ausspruch Jesu Christi als direkt in die Gegenwart hinein gesprochen verstehen. Mit seinem Wort: „Euch gebe ich die Gewalt, Schlangen, Skorpionen, Skolopender und jegliche Macht des Feindes niederzutreten“,<sup>54</sup> wendet sich Jesus interessanterweise an die christliche Gemeinde als diejenigen, die an den unter Pontius Pilatus Gekreuzigten glauben und somit Macht über Dämonen und böse Geister besitzen.<sup>55</sup> Mit den Aposteln sind für Justin ganz of-

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47 Dial. 35,1.

48 Dial. 35,4–6.

49 Vgl. dazu auch die wichtige Bemerkung von Bobichon, „Composite Features“ (Anm. 24), 159: „in Justins work, and more particularly in the Dialogue, the citation and its immediate and larger context are not separate, but intermingled and sometimes inextricable.“

50 Vgl. zu diesem wichtigen Unterschied zu Mt auch J. R. C. Cousland, „Matthew’s Earliest Interpreter: Justin Martyr on Matthew’s Fulfilment Quotations,“ in *Biblical Interpretation in Early Christian Gospels II: The Gospel of Matthew*, hg.v. Thomas Hatina (London/New York: T&T Clark, 2008), 45–60.

51 Dial. 17,4 und 112,4; vgl. auch Bellinzoni, *Sayings* (Anm. 25), 33–37.

52 Dial. 18,1.

53 Dial. 76,4 f.; vgl. dazu auch Bellinzoni, *Sayings* (Anm. 25), 113–116.

54 Dial. 76,6 nach Lk 10,19 καὶ πάλιν ἐν ἑτέροις λόγοις ἔφη: Δίδωμι ὑμῖν ἐξουσίαν καταπατεῖν ἐπάνω ὄφρων καὶ σκορπίων καὶ σκολοπενδρῶν καὶ ἐπάνω πάσης δυνάμεως τοῦ ἐχθροῦ; vgl. auch Bellinzoni, *Sayings* (Anm. 25), 116 f. Ganz ähnlich formuliert Justin auch in Dial. 120,6 und 140,4; zum Teil verwendet er auch die gleichen Evangelienzitate.

55 Dial. 76,6.

fensichtlich auch deren Schüler und Nachfolger, d. h. all diejenigen gemeint, die, wie Justin selbst, gerade jetzt in diesem Moment die Lehre Jesu verkündigen.

Für Justin ist nachvollziehbar, dass die Propheten nur andeutungsweise vom Leiden und der anschließenden Herrlichkeit Christi Zeugnis ablegen konnten. Denn Christus selbst hat mit seinen eigenen Worten sein Leiden, die Verwerfung durch Schriftgelehrte und Pharisäer, sowie seine Kreuzigung und Auferstehung vorhergesagt<sup>56</sup> und damit die Apostel erst davon überzeugen müssen, dass die alttestamentlichen Schriften tatsächlich darüber reden.<sup>57</sup> Somit wurde das Wort Gottes von den Propheten gepredigt und zugleich durch Christi Apostel verkündigt.<sup>58</sup> Neben den Propheten beruht also die christliche Lehre, die die Christen in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart befolgen und verkündigen, auf dem Zeugnis der Apostel, die all das, was sich im Hinblick auf Christus ereignet hat, aufgezeichnet und schriftlich niedergelegt haben.<sup>59</sup>

## 2 Gleichnis und Gleichnisdeutung

Gegenüber der häufig diskutierten Verwendung einzelner Logien aus dem Munde Jesu, die dessen Lehre umreißen, hat man kaum zur Kenntnis genommen, dass Justin im Dialog mit Tryphon aus dem Gleichnis vom Sämann zitiert und dieses auf eine sehr charakteristische Weise ausdeutet.<sup>60</sup> An dieser Stelle will Justin von den Begleitern des Tryphon wissen, ob ihnen die Bedeutung des Namens Israels geläufig sei, doch schweigen diese hartnäckig.<sup>61</sup> Justin vermutet, dass sie die Bedeutung zwar kennen, diese aber dennoch – aus welchem Grund auch immer – für sich behalten wollen. Justin möchte sich jedoch anders als diese Schweigenden verhalten und ganz offen reden, gemäß dem Wort und der Weisung seines Herrn: „Es ging der Sämann hin, zu säen den Samen; der eine fiel auf den Weg, der andere unter die Dornen, der andere auf steinigen Boden, der andere auf das gute

<sup>56</sup> Dial. 76,7; vgl. auch Bellinzoni, *Sayings* (Anm. 25), 30–32.

<sup>57</sup> Dial. 76,6; ähnlich auch in 1 Apol. 50,12; vgl. auch Skarsaune, „Justin“ (Anm. 9), 68 f. zu Justins Bild von den Aposteln.

<sup>58</sup> Dial. 119,6; ähnlich auch 136,2.

<sup>59</sup> Dial. 88,3; ähnlich auch in der 1 Apol. 33,5; vgl. auch Skarsaune, „Justin“ (Anm. 9), 73.

<sup>60</sup> Gegen Skarsaune, „Justin“ (Anm. 9), 73, der meint, Justin interpretiere an keiner Stelle einen neutestamentlichen Text etwas gründlicher. Warum Ulrich, „Innovative Apologetik“ (Anm. 37), 9 behauptet: „Denn so sehr Justin zweifellos sehr viel (werdendes) Neues Testament zitiert, ist doch ausgerechnet das Sämannsgleichnis nirgends dabei und auch sonst keine ‚Sprüche‘ über den Sämann, wie sie aber in anderen Stellen in den Texten des frühen Christentums durchaus zu finden sind, z. B. 1Clem 24,4 f. und EvThom 9,“ bleibt mir ein Rätsel.

<sup>61</sup> Dial. 125,1.

Erdreich.“<sup>62</sup> Justin bezieht dieses Wort interessanterweise auf seine eigene Verkündigung und versteht sich selbst dabei als der treue Verwalter im Dienst seines Herrn Jesus Christus.<sup>63</sup> Aus diesem Grunde darf er gerade nicht schweigen, sondern muss reden und verkündigen, auch wenn er nicht wissen kann, wie viele von den Hörern sein Wort positiv aufnehmen werden:

Man muss also reden und hoffen, dass es irgendwo schon gutes Erdreich gebe. Christus, mein Herr, der ‚Starke und Mächtige‘ wird nämlich kommen und von allen das Seinige fordern, und er wird seinen Verwalter nicht verurteilen, wenn er merkt, derselbe weiss, dass sein Herr mächtig ist und bei seinem Kommen das Seinige fordern wird, und er hat daher dasselbe bei allen Banken angelegt, nicht jedoch aus irgendwelchem Grunde vergraben.<sup>64</sup>

Einmal mehr macht Justin in seiner Deutung des Gleichnisses darauf aufmerksam, dass er selbst – wie zuvor schon die Propheten und Apostel – das Wort Gottes auf Geheiß seines Herrn verkündigt, weil das Ende nahe ist und im Gericht eben auch von ihm selbst Rechenschaft gefordert werden wird.

### 3 Erfüllung der Verheißung

Doch von besonderer Bedeutung und als Grundlage für das, was die Propheten und Apostel bezeugt haben, ist für Justin natürlich alles, was sich im Hinblick auf Christus tatsächlich ereignet hat und von den Aposteln aufgeschrieben wurde.<sup>65</sup> Mit Rückgriff auf wörtliche Zitate aus den Evangelien Schriften erläutert er die wichtigen, von den Propheten vorhergesagten Stationen der irdischen Wirksamkeit Jesu: die Jungfrauengeburt, das mit dem Auftreten des Täufers verbundene Ende der Pro-

<sup>62</sup> Dial. 125,1 ὡς ὁ ἐμὸς κύριος εἶπεν· Ἐξῆλθεν ὁ σπείρων τοῦ σπείραι τὸν σπόρον· καὶ ὁ μὲν ἔπεσεν εἰς τὴν ὁδόν, ὁ δὲ εἰς τὰς ἀκάνθας, ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ πετρώδη, ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν τὴν καλήν; vgl. auch Bellinzoni, *Sayings* (Anm. 25), 127–130.

<sup>63</sup> Vgl. auch David W. Jorgensen, *Treasure Hidden in a Field: Early Christian Reception of the Gospel of Matthew* (Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 2016), 163: „Justin Martyr [...] drew upon this parable in order to characterize his own speech acts as those of the sower.“

<sup>64</sup> Dial. 125,2 ἐλπιδί οὖν τοῦ εἶναι που καλὴν γῆν λέγειν δεῖ· ἐπειδὴ γε ἐκεῖνος ὁ ἐμὸς κύριος, ὡς ἰσχυρὸς καὶ δυνατός, τὰ ἴδια παρὰ πάντων ἀπαιτήσει ἐλθὼν, καὶ τὸν οἰκονόμον τὸν ἑαυτοῦ οὐ καταδικάσει, εἰ γνωρίζοι αὐτόν, διὰ τὸ ἐπίστασθαι ὅτι δυνατός ἐστιν ὁ κύριος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐλθὼν ἀπαιτήσει τὰ ἴδια, ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τράπεζαν διδόντα, ἀλλ’ οὐ δι’ αἰτίαν οἰανδηποτοῦν κατορύξαντα.

<sup>65</sup> Das heißt aber nicht, dass die Evangelien für Justin keine theologischen, sondern vielmehr historische Dokumente sind, wie Wolf D. Köhler, *Die Rezeption des Matthäusevangeliums in der Zeit vor Irenäus*, WUNT II 24 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1987), 264, meint.

phetie sowie Jesu Passion, Kreuzestod und Auferstehung.<sup>66</sup> Dass die von Jesaja angekündigte Jungfrauengeburt in Christus erfüllt ist, wird von denen, „welche alles auf unsern Erlöser Jesus Christus Bezügliche aufgezeichnet haben,“<sup>67</sup> bestätigt. Justin führt also einige wörtliche Zitate aus diesen Schriften an, denen die Christen Glauben schenken, weil sie genau dem entsprechen, was der durch Jesaja sprechende prophetische Geist verkündigt hatte.<sup>68</sup> Doch – und das ist Justin besonders wichtig – hat die Zeit der Prophetie mit dem Auftreten Johannes des Täuflers ein Ende; dieser war, wie Jesus es selbst bezeugte, der letzte Prophet.<sup>69</sup> Justin zitiert ausgiebig den Täufer, der auf Jesus als den Stärkeren verweist, der aus diesem Grund auch das Gericht durchführen wird.<sup>70</sup> Gleichzeitig nutzt Justin den hier beschriebenen Kontext, um darauf hinzuweisen, dass seit dem Ende der Prophetie mit der irdischen Wirksamkeit Jesu von nun an das Reich Gottes verkündigt werde.<sup>71</sup> Mit kurzen ineinander verblendeten Zitaten aus den Evangelien rekapituliert Justin Jesu Leiden, Tod und Auferstehung, um schließlich noch einmal darauf zu sprechen zu kommen, dass dieser selbst vorausgesagt habe, dass vor seiner zweiten Ankunft falsche Propheten in seinem Namen auftreten werden, was bereits eingetroffen ist. Insofern kann Justin nicht verstehen, wieso Tryphon überhaupt noch zweifeln kann.<sup>72</sup> Angesichts der Vorhersage, dass Elia zuvor wiederkehren werde, verweist Justin auf Jesu eigene Aussage, wonach Elia bereits gekommen, aber nicht erkannt worden war. Die daraus gezogene Konsequenz: „Da verstanden die Jünger, dass er zu ihnen von Johannes, dem Täufer, sprach,“<sup>73</sup> macht für Justin einmal mehr deutlich, dass Jesus selbst seinen Jüngern, Aposteln und damit auch den gegenwärtigen Hörern das Verständnis der alttestamentlichen Schriften eröffnet hat.

66 Craig D. Allert, *Revelation, Truth, Canon, and Interpretation: Studies in Justin Martyr's Dialogue with Trypho*, SVigChr 64 (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2002), 188–192.

67 1 Apol. 33,5.

68 1 Apol. 33,5; vgl. dazu auch Skarsaune, „Justin“ (Anm. 9), 73.

69 Dial. 49,3. Das wird explizit als Jesu eigenes Wort auch in Dial. 51,3 ausgesagt, vgl. dazu Bellinzoni, *Sayings* (Anm. 25), 123–125.

70 Dial. 49,3.

71 Dial. 51,2; vgl. auch Bobichon, „Composite Features“ (Anm. 24), 164.

72 Dial. 51,2 εἰ δὲ Ἰωάννης μὲν προελήλυθε βοῶν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις μετανοεῖν, καὶ Χριστὸς ἔτι αὐτοῦ καθηζομένου ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἰορδάνου ποταμοῦ ἐπελθὼν ἔπαυσέ τε αὐτὸν τοῦ προφητεύειν καὶ βαπτίζειν, καὶ εὐηγγελίζετο, καὶ αὐτὸς λέγων ὅτι ἐγγύς ἐστιν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν, καὶ ὅτι δεῖ αὐτὸν πολλὰ παθεῖν ἀπὸ τῶν γραμματέων καὶ Φαρισαίων, καὶ σταυρωθῆναι καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀναστῆναι, καὶ πάλιν παραγενέσθαι ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ τότε τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ συμπεῖν πάλιν καὶ συμφαγεῖν, καὶ ἐν τῷ μεταξύ τῆς παρουσίας αὐτοῦ χρόνῳ, ὡς προέφην, γενήσεσθαι ἱερεῖς καὶ ψευδοπροφήτας ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ προεμήνυσσε, καὶ οὕτω φαίνεται ὄντα· πῶς ἔτι ἀμφιβάλλειν ἐστιν, ἔργῳ πεισθῆναι ὑμῶν ἔχοντων;

73 Dial. 49,5 καὶ γέγραπται ὅτι Τότε συνήκαν οἱ μαθηταὶ ὅτι περὶ Ἰωάννου τοῦ βαπτιστοῦ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς; vgl. auch Bellinzoni, *Sayings* (Anm. 25), 121–123.



Dieses Muster steht auch im Mittelpunkt von Justins christologischer Auslegung von Ps 22, der schon für die literarische Gestaltung der Passionsgeschichten in den Evangelien eine wichtige Rolle gespielt hatte.<sup>74</sup> Justin zitiert dabei nicht nur den gesamten Psalm, sondern deutet ihn gleichsam im Sinne eines literarischen Gegenstücks aus den „Erinnerungen der Apostel“,<sup>75</sup> um seinen Gesprächspartner Tryphon davon zu überzeugen, dass all die Ankündigungen, die in dem Psalm beschrieben stehen, mit der Person Christi erfüllt seien.<sup>76</sup> „Dass er der Eingeborene des Vaters aller war, dass er auf besondere Weise aus ihm erzeugt wurde als Logos und Kraft, dass er später durch die Jungfrau Mensch wurde, wissen wir aus den Erinnerungen.“<sup>77</sup>

Mit vielen inhaltlichen Wiedergaben und zehn wörtlichen Zitaten<sup>78</sup> versucht Justin die Gottessohnschaft Jesu Christi, seinen Kampf mit dem Teufel und die bleibende Auseinandersetzung mit denen, die nicht an Christus glauben, als Deutung des besagten Psalms plausibel zu machen. Zusätzlich zu den geheim-

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**74** Vgl. dazu etwa Dieter Sänger, Hg., *Ps. 22 und die Passionsgeschichte in den Evangelien*, BThS 88 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchner Verlagsgesellschaft, 2007); Ville Auvinen, „Ps. 22 in Early Christian Literature,“ in *Rewritten Bible Reconsidered: Proceedings of a Conference in Karkku, Finland 24–26 August 2006*, hg.v. Antti Laato und Jacques van Ruiten, (Turku: Eisenbrauns, 2008), 199–214; Wolfgang Reinbold, „Die Klage des Gerechten (Ps. 22),“ in *Die Verheißung des Neuen Bundes: Wie alttestamentliche Texte im Neuen Testament fortwirken*, BTSP 35, hg.v. Bernd Kollmann (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2010), 143–156, sowie Tobias Nicklas, „Die Gottverlassenheit des Gottessohns. Funktionen von Ps 22/21 LXX in frühchristlichen Auseinandersetzungen mit der Passion Jesu,“ in *Aneignung durch Transformation: Festschrift für Michael Theobald*, HBS 74, hg.v. Wilfried Eisele u. a. (Freiburg u. a.: Herder, 2013), 395–415.

**75** Gerade hier betont Justin ausdrücklich, dass es sich um schriftliche Aufzeichnungen der Apostel und ihrer Nachfolger handelt, vgl. Dial. 103,8. In Dial. 100,1; 101,3; 103,6,8; 104; 105,6 und 106,4 macht er klar, dass er aus schriftlichen Texten zitiert. Vgl. auch Judith Lieu, „Justin Martyr and the Transformation of Psalm 22,“ in *Biblical Traditions in Transmission*, hg.v. Charlotte Hempel und Judith Lieu (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2006), 195–211.

**76** Dial. 97–107; vgl. auch Allert, *Revelation* (Anm. 66), 188–190. Abramowski, „Erinnerungen“ (Anm. 7), 341 f. nimmt an, dass Justin dieses Stück ursprünglich gegen Gnostiker und Marcioniten verfasst hat.

**77** Dial. 105,1 μονογενὴς γὰρ ὅτι ἦν τῷ πατρὶ τῶν ὅλων οὗτος, ἰδίως ἐξ αὐτοῦ λόγος καὶ δύναμις γεγεννημένος, καὶ ὑπερὸν ἄνθρωπος διὰ τῆς παρθένου γενόμενος, ὡς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀπομνημονευμάτων ἐμάθομεν, προεδήλωσα; vgl. auch Michael F. Bird, *The Gospel of the Lord: How the Early Church Wrote the Story of Jesus* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2014), 253 und Skarsaune, „Justin,“ (Anm. 9), 70 f., der diese Stelle anführt, um deutlich zu machen, dass Justin ganz offenbar auch das Johannesevangelium kannte und verwendete. Vgl. dazu insbesondere auch, *Who Choose the Gospels?* (Anm. 9), 135–140.

**78** Bellinzoni, *Sayings* (Anm. 25), 118–121.

nisvollen Lehren über Christi Herrlichkeit,<sup>79</sup> wie sie in besagtem Psalm nur angedeutet werden, hat dieser selbst im Evangelium erklärt: „Alles ist mir vom Vater übergeben, und niemand kennt den Vater außer der Sohn, noch kennt jemand den Sohn außer der Vater, und wem der Sohn die Offenbarung gibt.“<sup>80</sup>

Mit dem explizitem Verweis auf die „Erinnerungen der Apostel“ will Justin zeigen, dass dort von Jesus aus der Jungfrau Maria<sup>81</sup> als Sohn Gottes erzählt wird,<sup>82</sup> der nach seinen eigenen Worten auch das Leiden, die Verwerfung durch Schriftgelehrte und Pharisäer, die Kreuzigung und Auferstehung auf sich nehmen musste,<sup>83</sup> um den Teufel zu vernichten und all die Menschen, die an ihn glauben, zu retten.<sup>84</sup> Gerade um zu verdeutlichen, dass Christus der Sohn Gottes war und dennoch in Niedrigkeit auf die Welt kam, Mensch war und litt, bemüht Justin ausdrücklich die von den Aposteln und deren Nachfolgern verfassten Schriften. Aber nicht nur damals, sondern eben auch in der unmittelbaren Gegenwart hat Christus mit Widersachern zu tun, die seine Gottessohnschaft nicht glauben wollen: „Diejenigen nämlich, welche ihn am Kreuze sahen, schüttelten sämtlich das Haupt, verzerrten die Lippen und unter Nasenrümpfen sagten sie einer wie der andere spöttisch die auch in den Denkwürdigkeiten seiner Apostel niedergeschriebenen Worte: ‚Zum Sohne Gottes hat er sich gemacht, er steige herab und wandle! Gott möge ihn erlösen!‘“<sup>85</sup> Für Justin ist offenbar besonders wichtig, dass die Gottessohnschaft im Zentrum der bis in seine Gegenwart reichende Auseinandersetzung steht. Letztlich ist es genau dieser Konflikt, der auch das Ringen Christi mit dem Teufel bestimmt. Denn als Jesus nach der Taufe durch das Wort

<sup>79</sup> Vgl. auch Demetrios C. Trakatellis, *The Pre-existence of Christ in the Writings of Justin Martyr: An Exegetical Study with Reference to the Humiliation and Exaltation Christology* (Missoula, Mont.: Scholars, 1976).

<sup>80</sup> Dial. 100,1 καὶ ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ δὲ γέγραπται εἰπών· Πάντα μοι παραδέδοται ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς, καὶ οὐδεὶς γινώσκει τὸν πατέρα εἰ μὴ ὁ υἱός, οὐδὲ τὸν υἱὸν εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ καὶ οἷς ἂν ὁ υἱὸς ἀποκαλύψῃ; ähnlich auch 1 Apol. 63,3; vgl. auch Bellinzoni, *Sayings* (Anm. 25), 25–28.

<sup>81</sup> Dial. 100,3,5 u.ö.

<sup>82</sup> Dial. 100,4.

<sup>83</sup> Dial. 100,3; vgl. auch 76,7.

<sup>84</sup> Dial. 100,5.

<sup>85</sup> Dial. 101,3 καὶ τὰ ἀκόλουθα· Πάντες οἱ θεωροῦντές με ἐξεμυκτήρισάν με, καὶ ἐλάλησαν ἐν χεῖλεσιν, ἐκίνησαν κεφαλὴν· Ἦλπισεν ἐπὶ κύριον, ῥυσάσθω αὐτόν, ὅτι θέλει αὐτόν· τὰ αὐτὰ ὁμοίως ἐγγίνεσθαι αὐτῷ προεῖπεν. οἱ γὰρ θεωροῦντες αὐτὸν ἐσταυρωμένον τὰς κεφαλὰς ἕκαστος ἐκίνουν καὶ τὰ χεῖλη διέστρεφον, καὶ τοῖς μυζωτῆρσιν ἐν ἀλλήλοις διαρρινοῦντες ἔλεγον εἰρωνευόμενοι ταῦτα ἃ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀπομνημονεύμασι τῶν ἀποστόλων αὐτοῦ γέγραπται· Υἱὸν θεοῦ ἑαυτὸν ἔλεγε, καταβάς περιπατεῖτω· σωσάτω αὐτὸν ὁ θεός. Vgl. auch Claus-Jürgen Thornton, „Justin und das Markusevangelium“, *ZNW* 84 (1993): 93–110, hier 95, der feststellt, dass an dieser Stelle die Gottessohnschaft – anders als in den uns bekannten Evangelien – hier klar erkennbar im Vordergrund steht.

Gottes zu Gottes Sohn erklärt wurde, trat niemand anders als der Satan zu ihm, um ihn zu versuchen. Christi Absage an den Satan zitiert Justin wörtlich und macht damit – ganz im Sinne der Adam-Christus Typologie – den Unterschied zwischen dem ersten Menschen und dem Mensch gewordenen Gottessohn deutlich.<sup>86</sup> Auch dessen echte Menschheit<sup>87</sup> betont Justin nachdrücklich mit einem Zitat aus der Passionsgeschichte:

„Wenn es möglich ist, so gehe dieser Kelch vorüber“ und da sein Herz und ebenso seine Gebeine offenbar bebten und sein Herz wie Wachs in seinem Innern zerfloss, auf dass wir erkennen, dass nach dem Willen des Vaters sein Sohn unsertwegen in der Tat solches erduldet hat, und wir nicht behaupten, er habe als Sohn Gottes kein Empfinden gehabt für das, was ihm geschah und begegnete.<sup>88</sup>

Allerdings waren die Worte Christi vor seiner Kreuzigung, die er im Hinblick auf seine Auferstehung gesprochen hat, für die Zeitgenossen noch nicht unbedingt verständlich, wie er selbst mit dem Verweis auf das Zeichen des Jona gesagt hatte.<sup>89</sup> Schließlich überzeugte ja auch erst Jesu Auferstehung die Apostel von der Zuverlässigkeit seiner vorösterlichen Aussagen<sup>90</sup> und befähigte sie dann auch, seine Botschaft in alle Welt zu tragen.<sup>91</sup>

Doch interessanterweise zieht Justin die „Erinnerungen der Apostel“ nicht nur heran, um zu zeigen, dass das in Psalm 22 angekündigte Geschick des Gottessohnes im Wirken Jesu Christi erfüllt ist. Er zitiert vielmehr aus diesen auch das letzte Wort bzw. Gebet Jesu: „Vater, in deine Hände empfehle ich meinen Geist“,<sup>92</sup> das gerade nicht aus Psalm 22 stammt,<sup>93</sup> und versteht es als Anleitung für das christliche Gebet zum Schutz vor der Macht des Teufels und seiner dämonischen

<sup>86</sup> Dial. 103,6. Vgl. dazu auch Ulrich, „Innovative Apologetik“ (Anm. 37), 12f.

<sup>87</sup> Vgl. auch Craig M. Watts, „The Humanity of Jesus in Justin Martyr’s Soteriology,“ *The Evangelical Quarterly* 56 (1984): 21–33.

<sup>88</sup> Dial. 103,8 Παρελθέτω, εἰ δυνατόν, τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο· ἐν τρόμῳ τῆς καρδίας δὴλον ὅτι οὐσῆς καὶ τῶν ὁσπῶν ὁμοίως καὶ ἐοικυίας τῆς καρδίας κηρῷ τηκομένῳ εἰς τὴν κοιλίαν, ὅπως εἰδῶμεν ὅτι ὁ πατὴρ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ υἱὸν καὶ ἐν τοιοῦτοις πάθεσιν ἀληθῶς γεγονέναι δι’ ἡμᾶς βεβούληται, καὶ μὴ λέγωμεν ὅτι ἐκεῖνος, τοῦ θεοῦ υἱὸς ὢν, οὐκ ἀντελαμβάνετο τῶν γινομένων καὶ συμβαινόντων αὐτῷ.

<sup>89</sup> Dial. 107,1.

<sup>90</sup> Dial. 106,1. Vgl. auch die Aussage aus Dial. 76,6, wonach die Auferstehung den Aposteln die alttestamentlichen Schriften erschlossen habe.

<sup>91</sup> Dial. 109,1 und 110,2; vgl. auch Skarsaune, „Justin“ (Anm. 9), 69.

<sup>92</sup> Dial. 105,5.

<sup>93</sup> Justin gibt hier, wie in Lk 23,46, Jesu Gebet am Kreuz nach Ps 30,6 wieder; vgl. dazu Gregory, *The Reception of Luke and Acts* (Anm. 19), 229 und Jan Dochhorn, „Vater, in deine Hände übergebe ich meinen Geist:“ Das Kreuzeswort Jesu in Lk 23,46 und die Rezeption von Ps 31,6 im frühen Judentum und Christentum,“ *Early Christianity* 2 (2011): 468–491.

Gefolgschaft: „Daher belehrt uns auch Gott durch seinen Sohn, wir sollen mit allen Kräften um Gerechtigkeit kämpfen und am Lebensende beten, unsere Seelen möchten nicht solch einer Macht unterliegen.“<sup>94</sup>

Für Justin ist also entscheidend, dass das Wirken Christi das Reich Gottes eröffnet habe und Christus selbst seine Anhänger darüber belehrte, was sie tun müssen, um in dieses Reich zu gelangen: „er sagte nämlich nach dem, was in den Erinnerung geschrieben ist: ‚Wenn eure Gerechtigkeit nicht die der Schriftgelehrten und Pharisäer übertrifft, werdet ihr fürwahr nicht eingehen in das Reich der Himmel.‘“<sup>95</sup>

Letztlich geht es Justin also keineswegs nur darum, deutlich zu machen, dass mit der Person Jesu Christi die alttestamentliche Prophetie erfüllt ist, sondern auch um eine durchaus eigenständige Verknüpfung zwischen Leben und Lehre Christi, die auf der Verkündigung der alttestamentlichen Schriften aufbaut und diese mit den Aussagen Jesu Christi zu einer einzigen Aussage verbindet, damit sie auf die unmittelbare Gegenwart der Hörer abzielen kann.

## 4 Ein erstes Fazit

Justin geht es einerseits um die Evangelien als die zentrale Quelle und den entscheidenden Text für die Lehre Jesu.<sup>96</sup> Immer wieder bringt er in seinen Werken deshalb auch wörtliche Zitate: Diese bestehen aus ethischen Anweisungen, die den Hörer oder Leser angesichts des göttlichen Endgerichts besonders eingeschärft werden sollten. Dabei ist es für Justin entscheidend, dass diese Lehre etwas bewirkt, das heißt, dass sie diejenigen, die sich noch nicht zu Christus bekennen, verändern und in einer Weise verwandeln soll, wie es Justin selbst seinerzeit ergangen ist. „Ich hätte den Wunsch, dass alle vom gleichen Eifer wie ich beseelt wären und keiner von den Lehren des Erlösers sich abwenden möchte. Diese haben nämlich etwas Furchtbares an sich, da sie die, welche vom rechten

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**94** Dial. 105,5 ὅθεν καὶ οὗτος διδάσκει ἡμᾶς καὶ διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ τὸ πάντως ἀγωνίζεσθαι δικαίους γίνεσθαι, καὶ πρὸς τῇ ἐξόδῳ αἰτεῖν μὴ ὑπὸ τοιαύτην τινὰ δύναμιν ὑποπεσεῖν τὰς ψυχὰς ἡμῶν. καὶ γὰρ ἀποδιδούς τὸ πνεῦμα ἐπὶ τῷ σταυρῷ εἶπε· Πάτερ, εἰς χεῖράς σου παρατίθεμαι τὸ πνεῦμά μου, ὡς καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀπομνημονευμάτων καὶ τοῦτο ἔμαθον.

**95** Dial. 105,6 καὶ γὰρ πρὸς τὸ ὑπερβάλλειν τὴν Φαρισαίων πολιτείαν τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ συνωθῶν, εἰ δὲ μὴ γε, ἐπίστασθαι ὅτι οὐ σωθήσονται, ταῦτα εἰρηκέναι ἐν τοῖς ἀπομνημονεύμασι γέγραπται· Ἐάν μὴ περισσεύσῃ ὑμῶν ἡ δικαιοσύνη πλεῖον τῶν γραμματέων καὶ Φαρισαίων, οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθῃτε εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν.

**96** Skarsaune, „Justin“ (Anm. 9), 73.

Wege abweichen, zu schrecken vermögen; dagegen wird angenehmste Erholung denen, welche sich in sie vertiefen.“<sup>97</sup>

Ihn selbst haben diese Lehren nicht nur damals in ihren Bann gezogen, er hat sich offensichtlich immer wieder in sie vertieft und daraus nun die Konsequenz gezogen, dass er jetzt – angesichts des von Christus angekündigten Gerichts – nunmehr selbst die Lehren seines Lehrers und Erlösers verkündigen müsse. Besonders anschaulich macht Justin das in seiner Deutung des Gleichnisses vom Sämann: Justin sieht sich in der Nachfolge Christi und der Apostel selbst als eben dieser Sämann, der darauf hofft, dass einige seiner Worte auf fruchtbaren Boden fallen und die Hörer oder Leser retten möge.

Andererseits liefern die ἀπομνημονεύματα der Apostel das nötige Material, um deutlich zu machen, dass das, was die Propheten verkündigt und durch den Geist im Hinblick auf die erste Ankunft Christi gepredigt haben, tatsächlich genau so eingetroffen ist. Deshalb gilt es sich nun für die zweite Ankunft Christi zu rüsten, die ebenso wie seine erste verkündigt ist und sicherlich schon bald kommen wird. Justin greift auf die auch philosophisch relevante Kategorie der „Erinnerungen der Apostel“ zurück, weil sie geeignet ist, die zentralen Ereignisse des Lebens Jesu mit dessen Lehren zu verknüpfen.<sup>98</sup> Damit ist für Justin der Horizont aufgespannt, auf dessen Hintergrund er nicht nur die „Worte Gottes, verkündigt von den Aposteln“<sup>99</sup> wiedergibt und vorträgt, sondern sie zugleich auch auf eindringliche Weise selbst den Heiden und interessierten Juden wie Tryphon und seinen Genossen nahelegt, um seine Hörerschaft – angesichts des göttlichen Gerichts – für die christliche Lehre zu gewinnen. Möglicherweise dürfte Justin diese Gottesworte ganz im Sinne der zu Beginn dieses Aufsatzes angesprochenen *imitatio*, auf die die Auslegung der Schriften in dem von ihm in der Apologie beschriebenen Gottesdienst ja abzielte, als „Worte Gottes, nunmehr verkündigt vom Lehrer Justin,“ verstanden haben.<sup>100</sup>

**97** Dial. 8,2 βουλοίμην δ' ἂν καὶ πάντας ἴσον ἐμοὶ θυμὸν ποιησαμένους μὴ ἀφίστασθαι τῶν τοῦ σωτῆρος λόγων· δέος γάρ τι ἔχουσιν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς, καὶ ἱκανοὶ δυσωπῆσαι τοὺς ἐκτρεπομένους τῆς ὀρθῆς ὁδοῦ, ἀνάπανσίς τε ἡδίστη γίνεται τοῖς ἐκμελετώσιν αὐτούς. εἰ οὖν τι καὶ σοὶ περὶ σεαυτοῦ μέλει καὶ ἀντιποιῇ σωτηρίας καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ θεῷ πέποιθας, ἅπερ οὐκ ἄλλοτρίῳ τοῦ πράγματος, πάρεστιν ἐπιγνόντι σοὶ τὸν Χριστὸν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τελείῳ γενομένῳ εὐδαιμονεῖν.

**98** Darum geht es Aragione, „Justin ‚philosophe‘ chrétien“ (Anm. 15).

**99** Dial. 119,6 τῇ φωνῇ τοῦ θεοῦ, τῇ διὰ τε τῶν ἀποστόλων τοῦ Χριστοῦ λαληθείῃ. Vgl. dazu auch Hill, *Who Choose the Gospels?* (Anm. 9), 145 f.

**100** Vgl. auch Snyder, *Teachers and Texts* (Anm. 5), 227: „Ultimately, there is a complex symbiosis between texts and teachers. Texts are in need of teachers to be understood and transmitted. But in the period of our study, it seems that teachers are also in need of texts, to formulate their ideas, to structure their activity, and as a field in which to prove their erudition. As articulators and explicators, teachers tap into the authority that courses through the revered text. So ultimately, the either/or often posed is reductive. Teacher and text actuate each other.“



Jens Schröter

# Thomas unter den Evangelisten

Zum Ort des Thomasevangeliums in der frühchristlichen Literatur

## 1 Zur Einführung

Seit der Entdeckung der Nag-Hammadi-Codices gibt es eine intensive Diskussion über den Ort des Thomasevangeliums in der frühchristlichen Literatur, speziell innerhalb der frühchristlichen Evangelien.<sup>1</sup> Ein offensichtlicher Grund dafür war der Fund eines außerkanonischen Evangeliums, dessen Existenz zwar auch durch Erwähnungen bei altkirchlichen Theologen bezeugt,<sup>2</sup> von dem aber erst seit dem Bekanntwerden der Nag-Hammadi-Codices ein Manuskript bekannt ist.<sup>3</sup> Darüber hinaus zog das EvThom auch deshalb besonderes Interesse auf sich, weil es – anders als zum Beispiel das im selben Kodex unmittelbar folgende Philippusevangelium – zahlreiche Analogien zu den neutestamentlichen, insbesondere zu den synoptischen Evangelien enthält. Etliche davon sind eigenständige Versionen synoptischer Worte oder Gleichnisse,<sup>4</sup> andere könnten sogar ursprünglicher als

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1 Zur neueren Diskussion über das EvThom vgl. ausführlich Simon Gathercole, *The Gospel of Thomas: Introduction and Commentary*, TENTS 11 (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2014), 3–184. Vgl. weiter Jens Schröter, „Das Evangelium nach Thomas (Thomasevangelium [NHC II,2 p. 32,10–51,28]); Oxyrhynchus-Papyri I 1, IV 654 und IC 655 (P.Oxy. I 1, IV 654 und IV 655): Einleitung,“ in *Antike christliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung*, hg. Christoph Marksches und Jens Schröter (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), 483–506; Wilfried Eisele, *Welcher Thomas?: Studien zur Text- und Überlieferungsgeschichte des Thomasevangeliums*, WUNT 259 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 3–44. Einige Bemerkungen finden sich auch in der Einleitung zu: *Das Thomasevangelium: Entstehung – Rezeption – Theologie*, hg. Jörg Frey, Enno E. Popkes, Jens Schröter (unter Mitarbeit von Christine Jacobi), BZNW 157 (Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 2008), 1–15.

2 Die frühesten Erwähnungen stammen aus dem 3. Jahrhundert. Ein κατὰ Θωμᾶν ἐπιγραφόμενον εὐαγγέλιον wird von (Ps.-)Hippolyt, Ref. 5,7,20 f., erwähnt, der daraus einen Spruch mit Verbindungen zu Log. 2 und 4 als Lehre der Naassener zitiert. Origenes erwähnt ein κατὰ Θωμᾶν εὐαγγέλιον in Hom. in Luc. 1,2 unter etlichen anderen Evangelien der „Häresie“. Im 4. Jahrhundert wird ein „Evangelium nach Thomas“ von Cyrill von Jerusalem (der es auf die Manichäer zurückführt), Euseb, Didymus dem Blinden, Hieronymus und Ambrosius erwähnt.

3 Auf die bereits früher entdeckten Oxyrhynchus-Papyri mit Fragmenten des EvThom ist weiter unten einzugehen.

4 So etwa das Gleichnis vom Fischnetz (Log. 8), vom vorsorgenden reichen Mann (Log. 63), vom Gastmahl (Log. 64), vom verlorenen Schaf (Log. 107) und vom Schatz im Acker (109).

die entsprechenden synoptischen Fassungen sein,<sup>5</sup> wiederum andere sind enge Parallelen, ohne erkennbaren Einfluss synoptischer Fassungen.<sup>6</sup> Schließlich finden sich im EvThom Worte und Gleichnisse ohne synoptische Parallelen, die aber hinsichtlich ihres Bildmaterials und ihrer literarischen Gestaltung mit diesen vergleichbar sind.<sup>7</sup> Das EvThom weist demnach zahlreiche Berührungen mit älterer Jesusüberlieferung auf, die es aber auf eigenständige Weise verarbeitet hat.<sup>8</sup> Es könnte deshalb, so eine bereits früh auftauchende Annahme, ältere und unabhängige Fassungen von Worten und Gleichnissen Jesu enthalten und damit auf frühe Stufen der Jesusüberlieferung, eventuell sogar bis zum historischen Jesus selbst, zurückführen.<sup>9</sup> Das EvThom wurde deshalb als „fünftes Evangelium“ in die Diskussion über den historischen Jesus einbezogen, in der es seither immer wieder eine Rolle spielt.<sup>10</sup>

Diese Sicht wurde dadurch unterstützt, dass das EvThom der Gattung „Spruchevangelium“ zugerechnet wurde, die als eine der ältesten Formen der

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**5** Das markanteste Beispiel hierfür ist das Winzergleichnis in Log. 65. Der Thomasfassung dieses Gleichnisses fehlen die redaktionellen Merkmale der synoptischen Versionen, zudem lässt sich die hier vorausgesetzte Situation besser mit den politischen und ökonomischen Verhältnissen im Galiläa des 1. Jahrhunderts verbinden. Vgl. John S. Kloppenborg, *The Tenants in the Vineyard: Ideology, Economics, and Agrarian Conflict in Jewish Palestine*, WUNT 195 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006), 249–271.

**6** So z. B. die Bildworte vom blinden Blindenführer (Log. 34), von den Erntearbeitern (Log. 73), von Jesu „wahrer“ Familie (Log. 99) sowie die Gleichnisse vom Senfkorn (Log. 20), von der Plünderung des Hauses eines Starken (Log. 35), von der Perle (Log. 76) und vom Sauerteig (Log. 96).

**7** Dazu gehören etwa die Gleichnisse von der Frau, die einen Krug trägt (Log. 97) und vom Attentäter (Log. 98).

**8** Die Seligpreisung der Armen und Verfolgten (Log. 54; 68), die Worte vom heimatlosen Menschensohn (Log. 86), über den Hass der Verwandten (Log. 55, vgl. 101), die Erntearbeiter oder den Propheten, der in seiner Heimatstadt nicht willkommen ist (Log. 31), werden für gewöhnlich zur ältesten Jesusüberlieferung gerechnet. Das EvThom weist demnach einen durchaus bemerkenswerten Bestand an frühen Überlieferungen auf.

**9** Diese Annahme findet sich bereits bei Claus-Hunno Hunzinger, „Außersynoptisches Traditionsgut im Thomas-Evangelium“, *ThLZ* 85 (1960): 843–846 und wurde seither häufig vertreten, in neuerer Zeit etwa von Thomas Zöckler, *Jesu Lehren im Thomasevangelium*, NHMS 47 (Leiden u. a.: Brill, 1999). Eine Variante der Sicht von einer unabhängigen Traditionslinie hinter dem EvThom findet sich bei Gilles Quispel, dem zufolge das EvThom judenchristliche Evangelien, insbesondere das Hebräer- und dem Ägypterevangelium, verwendet habe. Vgl. ders., „The Gospel of Thomas and the New Testament“, *VC* 11 (1957): 189–207; „The ‘Gospel of Thomas’ and the ‘Gospel of the Hebrews’“, *NTS* 12 (1965/66): 371–382.

**10** Vgl. etwa Robert W. Funk und Roy W. Hoover, and the Jesus Seminar, *The Five Gospels: The Search for the Authentic Words of Jesus* (New York: Macmillan, 1993); Stephen J. Patterson, „Thomas meets Plato“, in ders., *The Gospel of Thomas and Christian Origins: Essays on the Fifth Gospel*, hg. ders., NHMS 84 (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2013).



Sammlung von Jesusüberlieferungen, vielleicht sogar als deren älteste überhaupt, betrachtet wurde. Als ein weiteres Exemplar dieser Gattung wurde die Logienquelle Q angesehen, die als ein früher Beleg der Existenz dieser Form der Jesusüberlieferung dienen und die Annahme stützen könnte, dass das EvThom auf frühe Sammlungen von Jesusworten zurückgeht.<sup>11</sup> Dass die Jesusüberlieferung mit der Sammlung von Worten ohne narrative Rahmung begonnen habe, ist eine These, die dabei auf der Basis formgeschichtlicher Prämissen stillschweigend vorausgesetzt, für die der Nachweis aber nie erbracht wurde. Ob sich zudem das EvThom und die hypothetisch rekonstruierte Logienquelle Q einer gemeinsamen Gattung zuweisen lassen, unterliegt erheblichen Zweifeln.<sup>12</sup>

Allerdings hat es immer auch Stimmen gegeben, die das EvThom als eine Schrift auffassten, die die synoptischen Evangelien voraussetzt und in neuer Weise interpretiert. Diese Interpretation wurde gelegentlich als „gnostisch“ bezeichnet, das EvThom damit der frühchristlichen Gnosis zugeordnet, die die in den synoptischen Evangelien anzutreffende Jesusüberlieferung im Horizont einer gnostischen Mythologie umdeute.<sup>13</sup>

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**11** Die These wurde vor allem von James M. Robinson propagiert, der Q und das EvThom einer vermuteten Gattung LOGOI SOPHON zurechnete. Vgl. ders., „LOGOI SOPHON: Zur Gattung der Spruchquelle Q,“ in *Entwicklungslinien durch die Welt des frühen Christentums*, hg. Helmut Köster und James M. Robinson (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1971), 67–106. Sie liegt dann der Untersuchung von Stephen J. Patterson, *The Gospel of Thomas and Jesus* (Sonoma: Polebridge Press, 1993), zugrunde. Dieser Linie folgt auch Richard Valantasis, *The Gospel of Thomas*, New Testament Readings (London/New York: Routledge, 1997). Eine Interpretation von Q im Kontext antiker weisheitlicher Spruchsammlungen findet sich bei John S. Kloppenborg, *The Formation of Q: Trajectories in Ancient Wisdom Collections*, Studies in Antiquity and Christianity (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987). Kloppenborg entwickelt dort die These einer Entstehung von Q in mehreren Redaktionsstufen, die in analoger Weise auch auf das EvThom angewendet wurde. In neuerer Zeit wurde sie etwa von April DeConick, *Recovering the Original Gospel of Thomas: A History of the Gospel and its Growth*, LNTS 286 (London/New York 2005: Clark), vertreten.

**12** Die Argumentation wird mitunter zirkulär. So werden aus Q gelegentlich solche Überlieferungen ausgeschlossen oder für eine spätere Redaktionsstufe postuliert, die zu einer Spruchsammlung nicht passen würden, wie etwa die Taufferzählung oder die Versuchungsgeschichte. Dabei ist bereits vorausgesetzt, dass es sich bei Q um eine Spruchsammlung handelt, was ja erst zu erweisen wäre. Unklar bleibt zudem, ob alle Nicht-Mk-Stoffe bei Mt und Lk derselben Quelle entstammen, zumal der Grad an wörtlicher Übereinstimmung erheblich differiert. Über das literarische und inhaltliche Profil von Q sind zudem kaum Aussagen möglich, da sich nicht feststellen lässt, welche Texte zu Q gehört haben, die nur bei Mt oder Lk aufgenommen oder von beiden ausgelassen wurden. In eine nähere Diskussion der Q-Hypothese, ihrer Stärken und ihrer Grenzen, kann an dieser Stelle nicht eingegangen werden.

**13** Diese Richtung wurde prominent von Wolfgang Schrage vertreten und seither häufig wiederholt. Vgl. ders., *Das Verhältnis des Thomas-Evangeliums zur synoptischen Tradition und zu den koptischen Evangelienübersetzungen: Zugleich ein Beitrag zur gnostischen Synoptikerdeutung*,

In neuerer Zeit hat sich die Diskussion stärker dahin verschoben, den Text des EvThom selbst in den Blick zu nehmen, die Fragen nach möglichen Vorstufen und dem Verhältnis einzelner Sprüche und Gleichnisse zu ihren synoptischen Analogien dagegen zurückzustellen.<sup>14</sup> Dabei wird auch die Zuweisung der Schrift zur frühchristlichen Gnosis zurückhaltend beurteilt, da sie das EvThom einer Entwicklung zuordnet, die ihrerseits eine Zusammenfassung verschiedener Strömungen des frühen Christentums durch die Forschungsgeschichte darstellt.<sup>15</sup> Die Einordnung des EvThom in die frühchristliche Literatur-, Theologie- und Sozialgeschichte müsse stattdessen auf der Basis von Interpretationen der einzelnen Logiken des EvThom sowie dem Befund der Manuskripte selbst erfolgen. Diese Perspektive gründet nicht zuletzt darauf, dass das EvThom nicht mehr vorrangig innerhalb eines „synoptischen Paradigmas“ interpretiert und auf alte, unabhängige Überlieferungen befragt, sondern im weiteren Horizont literarischer Rezeptionen der Person Jesu im frühen Christentum betrachtet wird. Dabei wurden etwa Berührungen mit dem JohEv diskutiert,<sup>16</sup> des Weiteren wurden einzelne

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BZNW 29 (Berlin: Töpelmann, 1964). Angesichts der neueren Diskussion über den Begriff „Gnosis“ erscheint die Charakterisierung des EvThom als „gnostisch“ allerdings nicht unproblematisch. Zum einen ist strittig, welches inhaltliche und soziologische Profil sich sinnvoll mit dem Begriff „Gnosis“ verbinden lässt, zum anderen ist fraglich, ob sich das EvThom einer solchen Richtung zuweisen ließe. Zur neueren Diskussion des Gnosisbegriffs vgl. David Brakke, *The Gnostics: Myth, Ritual, and Diversity in Early Christianity* (Cambridge, Mass./London, U.K.: Harvard University Press, 2010).

**14** Der Ansatz, das EvThom als eigenständige Schrift wahrzunehmen, findet sich bereits bei Ernst Haenchen. Vgl. ders., *Die Botschaft des Thomas-Evangeliums*, TBT 6 (Berlin: Töpelmann, 1961). Er bestimmt es als eine gnostische Schrift, entsprechend dem von ihm vorausgesetzten Verständnis von Gnosis. Dem wird man heute in dieser Weise nicht mehr folgen. Gleichwohl hat Haenchen damit eine wichtige Spur gelegt, die in der Folgezeit eher in den Hintergrund getreten ist, in der neueren Forschung jedoch wieder an Bedeutung gewinnt. Sie findet sich z. B. in etlichen Beiträgen in: Frey u.a., *Thomasevangelium* (Anm. 1) sowie in Risto Uro, Hg., *Thomas at the Crossroads: Essays on the Gospel of Thomas*, *Studies of the New Testament and its World* (Edinburgh: Clark, 1998). Eine differenzierte Einzeichnung des EvThom in das frühchristliche Schrifttum findet sich bei Simon Gathercole, *The Composition of the Gospel of Thomas: Original Language and Influences*, SNTSMS 151 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

**15** Vgl. etwa Francis Watson, *Gospel Writing: A Canonical Perspective* (Grand Rapids, Mich./Cambridge, U.K.: Eerdmanns, 2013), 221–249. Zur Problematik der Verwendung des Gnosis-Begriffs in der Forschung vgl. Karen L. King, *What is Gnosticism?* (Cambridge, Mass./London, U.K.: Harvard University Press, 2003).

**16** Vgl. Ismo Dunderberg, *The Beloved Disciple in Conflict?: Revisiting the Gospels of John and Thomas* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006). In den hier versammelten Studien diskutiert Dunderberg Berührungen zwischen dem EvThom und dem JohEv im Blick auf eine Verhältnisbestimmung beider Evangelien zueinander. Im Ergebnis zeigt sich, dass keine engeren traditionsgeschichtlichen, wohl aber einige thematische Beziehungen zwischen beiden Schriften be-

Logien diskutiert und für eine Einordnung des EvThom in den Kontext frühchristlicher Literatur fruchtbar gemacht.<sup>17</sup>

Diese Zugangsweise ist darin weiterführend, dass sie nicht bei der ohnehin nur hypothetisch zu beantwortenden Frage nach möglichen Vorstufen des EvThom, sondern bei den Kompositionsprinzipien und inhaltlichen Merkmalen der Schrift sowie bei Beobachtungen zu möglichen Verwendungen der Schrift im frühen Christentum ansetzt. Dabei sind zum Beispiel Züge herausgestellt worden, die das im EvThom anzutreffende Bild des Menschen und seiner Erlösung mit platonischen Vorstellungen teilt.<sup>18</sup> Ein weiteres Merkmal ist die radikale, auf die einzelnen Jesu-nachfolger bezogene Ethik, die sich nicht zuletzt in einer Umdeutung jüdischer Rituale äußert.<sup>19</sup> Durch die Konzentration auf das EvThom in seiner vorliegenden Gestalt treten zudem Spruchsammlungen wie die Sentenzen des Sextus und die Lehren des Silvanus, die beide ebenfalls in Nag Hammadi belegt sind (NHC VII,4 bzw. XII,1), aber auch die Sammlungen der Kleitarchos-, Pythagoreer- und Evagriussprüche als literarische Analogien in den Blick.<sup>20</sup> Das ist für die Diskussion über die Entstehungsgeschichte des EvThom insofern von Bedeutung, als die Präsentation von Worten, Gleichnissen und kurzen Szenen des Wirkens Jesu in Form einer weitgehend asyndetischen Reihung nicht notwendig einer frühen Phase der Jesusüberlieferung entstammen muss, sondern auch in späterer Zeit entstanden sein kann. Dass das EvThom dabei früher entstandene schriftliche Jesuserzählungen voraussetzt, ist deutlich. Es bedient sich der in

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stehen. Vgl. weiter Stephan Witetschek, *Thomas und Johannes – Johannes und Thomas: Das Verhältnis der Logien des Thomasevangeliums zum Johannesevangelium*, HBS 79 (Freiburg i.Br.: Herder, 2015).

**17** Vgl. dazu etwa AnneMarie Luijendijk, „Buried and Raised: Gospel of Thomas Logion 5 and Resurrection,“ in: *Beyond the Gnostic Gospels. Studies Building on the Work of Elaine Pagels*, ed. E. Iricinschi et al., STAC 82 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 272–296; Paul Linjamaa, „Savoring Life an Unsympathetic World View: Sabbath as Rest and Contemplation in Gospel of Thomas Logion 27,“ *Numen* 63 (2016): 461–482.

**18** Vgl. Christian Tornau, „Die neuplatonische Kritik an den Gnostikern und das theologische Profil des Thomasevangeliums,“ in Frey u. a., *Thomasevangelium* (Anm. 1), 326–359; Patterson, Thomas meets Plato, in ders., *The Gospel of Thomas and Christian Origins*. (Anm. 10), 33–59; ders., „Platonism and the Apocryphal Origins of Immortality in the Christian Imagination or Why do Christians Have Souls that Go to Heaven?,“ *ibid.*, 61–91; Ivan Miroshnikov, *The Gospel of Thomas and Plato: A Study of the Impact of Platonism on the „Fifth Gospel“*, Ph.D. Diss. Helsinki 2016.

**19** Vgl. Stephen J. Patterson, „Wisdom in Q and Thomas,“ in *The Gospel of Thomas and Christian Origins* (Anm. 10), 141–174; ders., „Asceticism in the Gospel of Thomas and Q: The Peculiar Practice of the Early Jesus Tradition,“ a.a.O., 175–196.

**20** Vgl. Wilfried Eisele u. a., *Die Sextussprüche und ihre Verwandten*, SAPERE 26 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2015).

diesen Schriften aufbewahrten Jesusüberlieferungen, reichert sie durch weitere an und macht sie für eine Präsentation der Jesusüberlieferung fruchtbar, die ab der zweiten Hälfte des 2. Jahrhunderts in verschiedenen Versionen zirkuliert und zur Unterweisung christlicher Gemeinschaften oder auch zur privaten Lektüre verwendet wird.

Diese Annahme lässt sich durch Hinweise auf die Verwendung vergleichbarer Texte im antiken Christentum unterstützen. So ist etwa für die Sextussprüche durch Hieronymus bezeugt, dass sie im 4. Jahrhundert in einem monastischen Milieu gelesen wurden.<sup>21</sup> Für das koptische Manuskript des EvThom aus Nag Hammadi – ebenso wie für die hier begegnenden Fassungen der Sextus- und Silvanussprüche – könnte sich ein analoger Befund nahelegen, denn auch die Nag-Hammadi-Schriften könnten in einem monastischen Kontext verwendet, eventuell sogar zusammengestellt worden sein.<sup>22</sup> Allerdings ist das nicht der einzige und auch nicht der erste Kontext, in dem das EvThom im frühen Christentum begegnet. Das zeigen die Oxyrhynchus-Papyri mit Fragmenten des EvThom, die sich in analoger Weise wie das Exemplar aus Nag Hammadi im Blick auf ihre Verwendung in frühchristlichen Kontexten, in diesem Fall des 3. Jahrhunderts, auswerten lassen.<sup>23</sup>

Damit tritt eine weitere Perspektive auf das EvThom in den Blick, nämlich dessen Rezeption im frühen Christentum. Zwar können aus Manuskripten nicht notwendig direkte Rückschlüsse auf Entstehung und Gebrauch von Texten gezogen werden. Manuskripte lassen sich jedoch als spezifische Rezeptionsformen frühchristlicher Texte auffassen: Sie wurden dazu hergestellt, in bestimmten Kontexten – etwa in frühchristlichen Gemeindeversammlungen, zu privater Lektüre, später auch in monastischen Kreisen – gelesen zu werden. Die konkrete Gestalt von Manuskripten kann dabei Hinweise auf ihren intendierten oder tatsächlichen Gebrauch geben – etwa durch Beobachtungen zur Produktion und Präsentation des Textes in einer Handschrift oder zu Korrekturen, die an dieser vorgenommen wurden.<sup>24</sup> Für die Interpretation einer Schrift ist das insofern von

<sup>21</sup> Vgl. Wilfried Eisele, „Papst oder Heide?: Zum Charakter der Sextussprüche und ihres Verfassers,“ in Eisele u. a., *Sextussprüche* (Anm. 20), 8f.

<sup>22</sup> Vgl. Hugo Lundhaug und Lance Jenott, *The Monastic Origins of the Nag Hammadi Codices* STAC 97 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2015).

<sup>23</sup> Vgl. AnneMarie Luijendijk, „Reading the *Gospel of Thomas* in the Third Century. Three Oxyrhynchus Papyri and Origen’s Homilies,“ in *Reading the New Testament Papyri in Context/Lire les Papyrus du Nouveau Testament Dans Leur Contexte*, hg. Claire Clivaz, Jean Zumstein, BETL 142 (Leuven: Peeters, 2011), 241–267.

<sup>24</sup> Ein eindrückliches Beispiel ist der Codex Sinaiticus, der in den zurückliegenden Jahren intensiv erforscht wurde. Dabei wurde eine umfangreiche elektronische Präsentation erstellt, in deren Umfeld etliche weitere Arbeiten entstanden sind. Vgl. <http://www.codexsinaiticus.org> sowie

Interesse, als im Prozess der Überlieferung und Übersetzung in andere Sprachen – beim EvThom vom Griechischen ins Koptische<sup>25</sup> – inhaltliche und terminologische Überarbeitungen stattgefunden haben können, die sich in den erhaltenen Manuskripten niedergeschlagen haben. Bei nicht-kanonischen Evangelien dürfte die Wahrscheinlichkeit derartiger Revisionen zudem höher sein als bei den kanonisch gewordenen, da die Zusammenstellung mit anderen Evangelien und die Verlesung in frühchristlichen Gemeinden hier nicht in derselben Weise voraussetzen sind wie bei den ins Neue Testament gelangten Evangelien. Dadurch blieb auch ihr Text „freier“ und für Fortschreibungen Ergänzungen und Modifikationen offen. Bei einer Schrift wie dem EvThom ist zudem in Rechnung zu stellen, dass er auch von seinem Charakter als Sammlung locker miteinander verbundener Worte oder kurzer Szenen für Erweiterungen offen war. Es ist deshalb davon auszugehen, dass zwischen dem koptischen Text aus Nag Hammadi und den griechischen Versionen des 2. und 3. Jahrhunderts Differenzen bestehen, die sich mitunter auch anhand eines Vergleichs der griechischen Fragmente mit dem Manuskript aus Nag Hammadi zeigen lassen.<sup>26</sup> Dass zwischen den griechischen Fragmenten und dem koptischen Manuskript überlieferungsgeschichtliche Beziehungen bestehen, ist evident und wird bereits durch die weitgehend übereinstimmende Abfolge der Sprüche belegt. Es kann deshalb davon ausgegangen werden, dass sich vom koptischen Exemplar aus Nag Hammadi in gewissen Grenzen Rückschlüsse auf Gestalt und Inhalt des EvThom im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert ziehen lassen, auch wenn die Ergänzung der griechischen Fragmente auf der Grundlage des koptischen Textes<sup>27</sup> oder gar einer „Rückübersetzung“ nur koptisch erhaltener Teile des EvThom ins Griechische<sup>28</sup> nicht unproblematisch sind.

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David C. Parker, *CODEX SINAITICUS: The Story of the World's Oldest Bible* (London: British Library 2010).

**25** Dass die griechischen Fragmente ältere Versionen des EvThom darstellen, die Übersetzung ins Koptische dagegen erst auf einer späteren Stufe erfolgte, ist immer noch die plausibelste Annahme. Sie lässt sich durch einen Vergleich der griechischen Fragmente mit dem koptischen Text wahrscheinlich machen und auch die genannte Erwähnung des EvThom bei Origenes und Hippolyt weist in diese Richtung. Vgl. dazu auch Gathercole, *Composition* (Anm. 14), 19–125, sowie ders., *Gospel of Thomas* (Anm. 1), 91–102.

**26** Vgl. dazu die Studien von Eisele, *Welcher Thomas?* (Anm. 1), die dem Vergleich des griechischen und des koptischen Textes gewidmet sind. Eisele gelangt zu dem Ergebnis, dass die jeweiligen Versionen als eigenständige Rezeptionen der Logientradition aufzufassen sind.

**27** Dieses Verfahren ist bei der Edition der griechischen Fragmente häufig praktiziert worden. Vgl. etwa Joseph A. Fitzmyer, „The Oxyrhynchus Logoi of Jesus and the Coptic Gospel According to Thomas,“ in *Essays on the Semitic Background of the New Testament*, hg. ders. (London: Chapman 1971), 355–433; Harold W. Attridge, „Appendix: The Greek Fragments,“ in *Nag Hammadi Codex II, 2–7 (NHS XX)*, Bentley Layton (Leiden u. a.: Brill 1989), 95–128.

Vor dem Hintergrund dieser Bemerkungen soll im Folgenden nach dem Ort des EvThom innerhalb der frühchristlichen Evangelienliteratur gefragt werden. Dabei setze ich bei der Charakterisierung Jesu im EvThom ein, komme anschließend auf Merkmale der Lehre Jesu zu sprechen und frage schließlich nach der möglichen Verwendung des EvThom in frühchristlichen Kontexten.

## 2 Die Charakterisierung Jesu und des Menschen im EvThom

Das literarische Profil des EvThom stellt eine Besonderheit innerhalb der frühchristlichen Evangelienliteratur dar. Das auffälligste und häufig notierte Merkmal ist die stereotyp wiederkehrende Einleitung einzelner Worte und Gleichnisse mit  $\pi\epsilon\chi\epsilon\ \tau\epsilon$  („Jesus spricht“ bzw. „Jesus sprach“).<sup>29</sup> Sie ist im koptischen Manuskript

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**28** Die problematische Praxis einer „Rückübersetzung“ der Logien des EvThom mit synoptischen Parallelen, die nicht durch griechische Fragmente bezeugt sind, findet sich seit der 15. Auflage in der *Synopsis Quattuor Evangeliorum* (ed. Kurt Aland), Stuttgart 1996, 519–546. Hier wurde zwar die frühere lateinische Übersetzung sinnvollerweise durch den koptischen Text ersetzt, die „Rückübersetzungen“ (die natürlich faktisch Neuübersetzungen der koptischen Texte ins Griechische sind), vermitteln jedoch den unzutreffenden Eindruck, es handle sich dabei um ältere griechische Fassungen der entsprechenden Logien.

**29** Die koptische Wendung kann präsentisch oder imperfektisch übersetzt werden. Ein Argument für die präsentische Übersetzung kann aus P.Oxy. 654, Z. 9. 27. 36 ( $\Lambda\epsilon\Gamma\epsilon\iota\ \text{I}\text{H}\Sigma$ ) und P.Oxy. 1, Z. 4/5. 11 verso; 2. 9. 15. 20 recto ( $\Lambda\epsilon\Gamma\epsilon\iota\ \text{I}\Sigma$ ) abgeleitet werden. Andererseits wird  $\Lambda\text{H}\Sigma\text{EN}$  in P.Oxy. 1, Z. 2 für gewöhnlich zu  $\text{E}\Lambda\Lambda\text{H}\Sigma\text{EN}$  ergänzt, in Z. 3 findet sich zudem  $\text{E}\text{I}\text{I}\text{I}\text{E}[\text{N}]$ . Der Befund ist also auch im Griechischen nicht eindeutig, denn es ist natürlich nicht auszuschließen, dass einige der nicht erhaltenen  $\Lambda\text{O}\Gamma\text{O}\text{I}$  mit  $\text{E}\text{I}\text{I}\text{I}\text{EN}$  oder  $\text{E}\Lambda\text{E}\Gamma\text{EN}\ \text{I}(\text{H})\Sigma$  eingeleitet wurden. Die deutsche Übersetzung des Berliner Arbeitskreises, die sich sowohl in Nag Hammadi Deutsch als auch in Antike christliche Apokryphen findet, hat sich aus sachlichen Erwägungen dafür entschieden, bei den kontextlosen Worten mit „Jesus spricht“ zu übersetzen, bei Dialogen und kurzen Szenen (wie etwa in Log. 18) dagegen mit „Jesus (bzw. er) sprach“. Häufiger findet sich in diesen Szenen auch  $\pi\epsilon\chi\alpha\alpha\eta$  (Log. 21; 60; 61; 72; 79; 91 vgl. 8; 65). Peter Nagel hat dagegen darauf hingewiesen, dass „satzeinleitendes, die direkte Rede eröffnendes  $\pi\epsilon\chi\epsilon$  ... in präsentischer Bedeutung nicht bezeugt“ sei und zudem die Worte Jesu im EvThom insgesamt dem Proömium untergeordnet seien, das die Worte als solche kennzeichnet, die Jesus „gesprochen hat“. Vgl. ders., Die Neuübersetzung des Thomasevangeliums in der *Synopsis quattuor Evangeliorum* und in *Nag Hammadi Deutsch* Bd. 1, ZNW 95 (2004): 209–257, 218f. (Zitat 219). Vgl. ders., „ $\pi\epsilon\chi\epsilon\ \tau\epsilon$  – Zur Einleitung der Jesuslogien im Thomasevangelium,“ *GöMisZ* 195 (2003): 73–79. Vor allem das letzte Argument ist nicht von der Hand zu weisen. Es betrifft dann allerdings den griechischen Text in gleicher Weise, wo demnach  $\Lambda\text{E}\Gamma\text{EI}$  als Präsens historicum aufzufassen wäre. Die Verwendung von  $\pi\epsilon\chi\epsilon$  anstelle von  $\pi\epsilon\chi\alpha\alpha\eta$  könnte sich demnach der Übersetzung aus dem Griechischen verdanken. Das Präsens könnte verwendet worden sein, um die bleibende Bedeutung der Worte Jesu zum Ausdruck zu

anzutreffen, begegnet aber auch in P.Oxy. 654 und 1. Auf beiden Papyri ist die Unterteilung zusätzlich durch *paragraphoi* und *coronides* unterstützt, die darauf hinweisen, dass die einzelnen Worte auch beim Lesen als separate Einheiten kenntlich gemacht werden sollen.<sup>30</sup> Darauf verweist auch das Incipit, das den Inhalt der Schrift als „verborgene Worte“ (ΛΟΓΟΙ ΑΠΟΚΡΥΦΟΙ, ἡφαλας εἶησι) kennzeichnet.

Die Charakterisierung des EvThom als „Spruchsammlung“ oder „Spruch-evangelium“ bezieht sich vornehmlich auf dieses redaktionelle Merkmal. Das ist zweifellos berechtigt, denn die stereotyp wiederkehrende Einleitung, durch die sich der Kompilator der Sammlung immer wieder zu Wort meldet, unterbricht einen direkten Zusammenhang zwischen den Logien und lenkt das Augenmerk stattdessen immer wieder neu auf das Folgende als von Jesus gesprochenes Wort oder Gleichnis.<sup>31</sup> Aus dem Beginn des EvThom und dessen Verhältnis zum Folgenden lassen sich jedoch noch weitere Schlüsse ziehen.

Nach dem Incipit, das die folgenden Worte insgesamt als von Jesus gesprochene und von Thomas aufgeschriebene einführt,<sup>32</sup> wird Jesus als Sprecher dieser ΛΟΓΟΙ stets wieder genannt. Das verbindet das EvThom gerade nicht mit weisheitlichen Spruchsammlungen, sondern unterscheidet es von diesen, denn ein solches oder ein vergleichbares Stilmittel findet sich in den Sextus- und Pythagoreersprüchen, den Lehren des Silvanus oder den ΚΥΡΙΑΙ ΔΟΞΑΙ des Epikur

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bringen, die nicht auf eine vergangene Situation beschränkt ist. Vgl. auch den Exkurs bei Uwe-Karsten Plisch, *Das Thomasevangelium: Originaltext mit Kommentar* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2007), 25 f.

**30** Derartige Textmarkierungen sind auch anderweitig in antiken Manuskripten anzutreffen, um einzelne Einheiten voneinander abzusetzen. Vgl. etwa P.Berol. 9875, Kol. IV, V und VI (Timotheus von Milet, Die Perser, 4. Jh. v. Chr.); P.Oxy. 1231 (Sappho-Fragmente, 2. Jh. n. Chr.); P.Lit.Lond. 96, Kol. XIII (Herodas, 1./2. Jh. n. Chr.).

**31** Dass das EvThom ungeachtet dieses Charakters auch narrative Züge aufweist, hat Konrad Schwarz betont. Vgl. ders., „Der „lebendige Jesus“ im Thomasevangelium,“ in *Christ of the Sacred Stories*, hg. Predrag Dragutinovic et al., WUNT II/453 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017), 223–246.

**32** Der mit ἄγω περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ εἶπεν eingeleitete zweite Satz des Incipits („Wer die Deutung dieser Worte findet, wird den Tod nicht schmecken“) wird zumeist als das erste von Jesus gesprochene Wort beurteilt. Es könnte sich aber auch um eine von Thomas formulierte Leseanweisung für das Folgende handeln. Der Hinweis auf die ansonsten für die Worte Jesu gebrauchte Redeeinleitung περὶ αὐτοῦ bzw. περὶ αὐτοῦ ist für die Entscheidung dieser Frage irrelevant, denn ab Log. 2 wird Jesus explizit als Sprecher genannt, wogegen das unmittelbar vor Satz 2 des Incipits genannte Subjekt Thomas ist. Zudem liegt das Incipit im Blick auf die folgenden Worte auf einer hermeneutischen Metaebene, insofern es die Wirkung dieser Worte charakterisiert. Allerdings wird im ersten Satz des Incipits Jesus als Sprecher, Didymos Judas Thomas dagegen als Schreiber charakterisiert. Gleichwohl könnte der Satz eine Ergänzung der Information sein, dass die Worte von Thomas aufgeschrieben wurden, der zugleich deren besondere Bedeutung zum Ausdruck bringt.



gerade nicht.<sup>33</sup> Der stets wiederkehrende erzählerische Neueinsatz verweist demnach auf eine spezifische Charakterisierung Jesu im EvThom. Diese wird auch in seiner Bezeichnung als „der Lebendige“ (Ο ΖΩΝ, ετoνζ) erkennbar, die in Logion 52 noch einmal begegnet und das Augenmerk auf die bleibende Bedeutung Jesu lenkt, dessen Worte den Weg zum Königreich des Vaters weisen. Eine Unterscheidung zwischen dem irdischen und dem auferstandenen Jesus ist dagegen für das EvThom bedeutungslos, auch wenn in etlichen Szenen eine Situation innerhalb des irdischen Wirkens Jesu faktisch vorausgesetzt ist.<sup>34</sup>

Die in den neutestamentlichen Evangelien implizit oder explizit begegnenden Stadien des Weges Jesu (Geburt – irdisches Wirken – Tod – Auferweckung – Erscheinungen – Erhöhung) werden im EvThom dagegen ausgeblendet. Das irdische Wirken Jesu ist demnach im EvThom zwar vorausgesetzt, wird jedoch nicht eigens thematisiert, sondern für das hermeneutische Konzept in der Weise fruchtbar gemacht, dass die Worte Jesu als Lehre zur Erkenntnis des Weges zum Königreich des Vaters präsentiert werden.

Eine wichtige Aussage hierzu findet sich in Logion 28,1 (vgl. P.Oxy. 1,11–14):

- (1) Jesus spricht: „Ich stand in der Mitte der Welt, und ich offenbarte mich ihnen im Fleisch. (2) Ich fand sie alle trunken. Niemanden unter ihnen fand ich durstig. (3) Und meine Seele empfand Schmerz über die Kinder der Menschen, weil sie blind sind in ihrem Herzen, und sie sehen nicht; denn leer kamen sie in die Welt (und) suchten auch wieder leer aus der Welt herauszukommen. (4) Doch jetzt sind sie trunken. Wenn sie (jedoch) ihren Wein(rausch) abschütteln, dann werden sie umdenken.“<sup>35</sup>

In dem Logion wird die Sicht des EvThom auf das Verhältnis Jesu zur Welt erkennbar: Jesus erschien in der Welt „im Fleisch“,<sup>36</sup> um die Erkenntnis über den

**33** Silv ist als Mahnrede eines Vaters an seinen Sohn nach dem Modell weisheitlicher Paränese des Judentums (etwa Spr 1–8; Sir, Ps-Phok.) gestaltet und enthält deshalb häufiger die Anrede „mein Sohn“ (πατeρ). In den anderen Sammlungen finden sich sowohl die direkte Anrede in der 2. Person Singular als auch allgemein formulierte ethische Belehrungen. Die Worte Jesu im EvThom sind dagegen entweder an seine Jünger oder andere Personen in seinem Umfeld gerichtet oder als allgemeine Weisheitslehren gestaltet, aber nie direkt an die Leser oder Hörer adressiert. **34** Das ist der Fall bei den diversen Dialogen, die im EvThom berichtet werden, sowie für einzelne Episoden, die sich auf einen Kontext des Wirkens Jesu beziehen (etwa Log. 22, 60, 79).

**35** περe τe xε λeιωρε epαt` zñ tñntē ñπκοc|μοc αγω λeιoγωñz eβολ naγ zñ capz | λeιze epooγ tñpoγ eγταpe ñπpe eλα|αγ ññntoγ eçove αγω αταγγχñt` τκαc. eχñ ñωñpe ñpρωme xε zñβλλeeγ|e ne zñ πογγñt` αγω cenaγ eβολ an | xε ñταγeι epκocμοc eγωpoyeιt` eγ|ωñe on etpoyeι eβολ zñ πκοcμοc|eγωpoyeιt` ñññ tenoγceτοze zo||tan eγωannez πογγñp` tote cenaβ|metañoel.

**36** Die Erscheinung Jesu „im Fleisch“ nimmt frühchristliche Sprache auf, die mit dieser Wendung die irdische Existenz Jesu ausdrückte. Vgl. etwa 1Joh 4,2; 2Joh 7; 1Tim 3,16; Barn 5,6.10 f.; 6,9.14; IgnEph 7,2; IgnSm 1,1 f.; PolPhil 7,1.



Weg zur Erlösung zu vermitteln. Die Menschen waren jedoch nicht willens oder nicht fähig, die notwendige Belehrung zu empfangen, weil sie sich an die Welt verloren hatten („trunken“ geworden waren). Deshalb waren sie nicht „durstig“ nach der zum wahren Leben führenden Lehre. Erst wenn sie ihren Rausch abgeschüttelt haben, werden sie zum Umdenken (μετανοεῖν) kommen.

Es handelt sich demnach um einen Rückblick auf die Offenbarung Jesu in der Welt, die sein irdisches Wirken Jesu und seine Lehre voraussetzen. Der letzte Teil des Logions<sup>37</sup> beschreibt dabei eine Situation, in der sich die Menschen noch immer befinden, der sich aber durch das Wirken Jesu verändern kann: Das „Abschütteln des Rausches“, das zum Umdenken führt, verweist auf einen durch die Lehre Jesu möglich gewordenen Erkenntnisprozess, der zur Einsicht in den Charakter der Welt und der Stellung des Menschen in ihr führt. Die damit verbundene Metapher der Trunkenheit, die es verhindert, dass die Menschen durstig sind,<sup>38</sup> verweist darauf, dass die Menschen aufgrund ihres Verlorenenseins an die Welt von der Suche nach der Erkenntnis abgelenkt werden.

Das Logion kann demnach, gemeinsam mit dem Incipit, als Beschreibung des Verhältnisses Jesu zur Welt aufgefasst werden: Er ist in der Welt erschienen, traf aber bei den Menschen auf Desinteresse an der zur Umkehr notwendigen Erkenntnis. Zugleich wird in Aussicht genommen, dass die Menschen zu einem Sinneswandel gelangen und dann in der Lage sein werden, die für ihre Erlösung notwendige Lehre anzunehmen.

Dieses Konzept lässt sich mit Darstellungen von Wirken und Lehre Jesu vergleichen, die diese in Gegensatz zur „Welt“ stellen und ebenfalls von einer fehlenden Erkenntnisfähigkeit der Menschen sprechen. In den synoptischen Evangelien geschieht dies in der Gleichnisrede Jesu, die zwischen Verstehenden und Unverständigen unterscheidet und dies mit Jes 6,9f. begründet: Den Nicht-Verstehenden ist es unmöglich zu sehen, zu hören und Einsicht zu erlangen.<sup>39</sup> Am Ende der Apg wird das Jesajazitat von dem lukanischen Paulus auf die nicht-verstehenden Juden bezogen.<sup>40</sup> In diesen Passagen werden Konflikte zwischen Jesusanhängern und denjenigen Juden, die das Christusbekenntnis ablehnten, erkennbar.<sup>41</sup> Der Kontrast von Einsicht und fehlender Erkenntnis in die Bedeu-

37 πλὴν τενού στορε ρο||ταν εὐωαννης ποιηριπ` τότε σεναρ|μετανοει. Auf P.Oxy. 1 ist eine entsprechende Formulierung nicht erhalten.

38 Die griechische Fassung lautet: καὶ εὔρον πάντας μεθύοντας καὶ οὐδένα εὔρον δειψῶ<ν>τα ἐν αὐτοῖς (P.Oxy. 654,14–17).

39 Mk 4,10–12/Mt 13,10–17/Lk 8,9f.

40 Apg 28,26f.

41 Dass sich diese Prozesse nicht einfach auf ein Gegenüber von „Judentum“ und „Christentum“ reduzieren lassen, ist in jüngerer Zeit etwa durch die Diskussion über das „Parting of the Ways“-

tung Jesu begegnet aber auch innerhalb von Auseinandersetzungen zwischen christlichen Strömungen, die verschiedene Auffassungen von Person und Lehre Jesu vertraten. Zu Letzterem gehört auch die im EvThom erkennbar werdende Sicht auf die Bedeutung von Person und Lehre Jesu.<sup>42</sup>

In eigener Weise wird die genannte Konstellation im JohEv reflektiert. Hier wird eine Diastase zwischen Jesus als dem Offenbarer Gottes, der Wahrheit, Licht und Leben in sich trägt, und dem Kosmos, der nicht fähig ist, Jesu wahre Identität zu erkennen, dargestellt. Die zu Jesus Gehörenden<sup>43</sup> werden dabei von der „Welt“ abgesondert und in einer eigenen Belehrung auf den Weggang Jesu und ihre Existenz in der Welt ohne Jesus vorbereitet.<sup>44</sup> Die im JohEv häufig als Opponenten Jesu genannten Juden<sup>45</sup> treten dagegen als Repräsentanten des Jesus nicht verstehenden, ihm feindlich gesonnenen κόσμος auf.<sup>46</sup>

Die im EvThom erkennbar werdende Konstellation unterscheidet sich von den genannten Schriften dadurch, dass das Nicht-Verstehen der Menschen nicht mit einer Feindschaft gegenüber Jesus begründet wird. Die Ablehnung Jesu spielt im EvThom nirgendwo eine Rolle, ebenso wie die persönliche Bindung an ihn

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Modell deutlich geworden. Vgl. dazu Adam H. Becker und Annette Yoshiko Reed, Hg., *The Ways that Never Parted: Jews and Christians in late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, TSAJ 95 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003); Tobias Nicklas, *Jews and Christians? Second Century 'Christian' Perspectives on the 'Parting of the Ways'*, Annual Deichmann Lectures 2013 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck), 2014.

<sup>42</sup> Dementsprechend wären auch die Bezugnahmen auf jüdische Traditionen und Rituale im EvThom zu interpretieren. Darauf ist weiter unten zurückzukommen. Ein analoger Fall ist P.Oxy. 840. Hier wird ein Disput Jesu mit einem Hohepriester und Pharisäer Levi geschildert, in dem es um die Frage wahrer Reinheit geht. Auch dabei dürfte eine innerchristliche Kontroverse im Hintergrund stehen. Vgl. François Bovon, „Fragment Oxyrhynchus 840, Fragment of a Lost Gospel, Witness of an Early Christian Controversy over Purity,“ in *New Testament and Christian Apocrypha. Collected Studies II*, ders., WUNT 237 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2009), 174–196.

<sup>43</sup> In Joh 13,1 werden sie als οἱ ἱδίοι und die von Jesus Geliebten dem κόσμος gegenübergestellt.

<sup>44</sup> Kap. 13–17 ist eine „geschlossene Szene“ zwischen Jesus und den Seinen, die bewusst zwischen sein Wirken im Kosmos und die anschließenden Passionsereignisse gestellt ist, um auf diese Weise den Tod Jesu vorab als sein Weggehen und seine Verherrlichung zu deuten. Vergleichbares findet sich im EvThom nicht.

<sup>45</sup> Vgl. etwa Joh 2,18.20; 5,15.18; 6,41.52; 7,15.35; 8,22.48.52.57; 9,22; 10,19; 10,31.33; 18,12; 19,7.12.

<sup>46</sup> Vgl. Jörg Frey, „Die Juden' im Johannesevangelium und die Frage nach der ‚Trennung der Wege‘ zwischen der johanneischen Gemeinde und der Synagoge,“ in: ders., *Die Herrlichkeit des Gekreuzigten: Studien zu den Johanneischen Schriften I*, ders., WUNT 307 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 339–377; Tobias Nicklas, „Creating the Other: The 'Jews' in the Gospel of John: Past and Future Lines of Scholarship,“ in *Perceiving the Other in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity*, hg. Michal Bar-Asher u. a., WUNT 394 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017), 49–66.

kein hervorstechendes Thema ist.<sup>47</sup> Stattdessen werden fehlende Einsicht in die Bedeutung seiner Worte und Verfallensein an die „Welt“ als Lebensorientierungen beschrieben, die den Weg zur Erlösung verhindern. Der im Hintergrund bleibenden Kontroverse um die Person Jesu entspricht dabei die Nicht-Erwähnung seines Todes, seiner Auferstehung<sup>48</sup> und seines nachösterlichen Erscheinens.

Die einzige Stelle, die sich hierfür anführen lässt, ist die Anspielung auf das Tragen des Kreuzes in dem soeben erwähnten Logion 55:

- (1) Jesus spricht: „Wer nicht seinen Vater hassen wird und seine Mutter, wird mir kein Jünger sein können.  
 (2) Und wer nicht seine Brüder und seine Schwestern hassen wird (und) nicht sein Kreuz tragen wird wie ich, wird meiner nicht würdig sein.“<sup>49</sup>

Das Logion enthält offensichtlich eine Anspielung auf den Kreuzestod Jesu und ist damit ein weiteres Indiz dafür, dass das EvThom Erzählungen über Jesu irdischen Weg voraussetzt und aus eigener Perspektive rezipiert. Jesus kommt dabei vor allem als Vorbild für das wahre Menschsein in den Blick. Eine hierfür einschlägige Stelle ist Logion 108:

- (1) Jesus spricht: „Wer von meinem Mund trinken wird, wird werden wie ich. (2) Ich selbst werde zu ihm werden, (3) und was verborgen ist, wird sich ihm offenbaren.“<sup>50</sup>

Der Weg zur Erlösung führt diesem Logion zufolge über das Gleichwerden mit Jesus. Dieses erfolgt durch die Aneignung seiner Lehre, die hier mit der Metapher des „Trinkens vom Mund Jesu“ ausgedrückt wird.<sup>51</sup> Damit verwandt ist Logion 13:

<sup>47</sup> Eine Ausnahme sind die Logien 55 und 101, wo Hass auf die Familienmitglieder und Liebe zu einer „neuen Familie“ im Kontext der Nachfolge Jesu genannt werden. Ansonsten wird Jesus als Vermittler der Lehre über den Weg zum „Königreich des Vaters“ dargestellt, jedoch nicht als jemand, der selbst umstritten ist und dem Haltungen wie Unmut, Feindseligkeit oder auch Vertrauen und Liebe entgegengebracht werden.

<sup>48</sup> Die Auferstehung wird nur in Log. 51 als „Auferstehung der Toten“ genannt. Der Text ist hier zudem unsicher, da im Manuskript nicht das eigentlich zu erwartende ἀναστασις, sondern ἀναπαύσις steht. Vermutlich handelt es sich um einen Schreibfehler.

<sup>49</sup> πεχε τς ξε πεταμεστε πεφ'εωτ' | αν' μη τεφμαλγ qnaωp̄ naōnthc an | naei' λγω nqmeσte neq'snhγ' m̄n | neq'ōne nqpei n̄peq'p̄oc n̄tape | qnaωp̄ne an eqo n̄azios naei.

<sup>50</sup> πεχε τς ξε πετασω εβολ εn̄ ταταπρο | qnaωp̄ne n̄tape anok εω t̄naωp̄ne||.

<sup>51</sup> Dass dahinter „die Vorstellung einer Art heiligen Kusses“ stehe (so Uwe-Karsten Plisch, *Das Thomasevangelium* (Anm. 29), 250), ist eine unnötige Annahme. Die Metapher vom Trinken vom Mund Jesu dürfte sich im EvThom auf die Aufnahme der Worte beziehen, die Jesus gesprochen hat.

- (1) Jesus sprach zu seinen Jüngern. „Vergleicht mich (und) sagt mir, wem ich gleiche.“
- (2) Simon Petrus sprach zu ihm: „Du gleichst einem gerechten Boten.“<sup>52</sup>
- (3) Matthäus sprach zu ihm: „Du gleichst einem (besonders) klugen Philosophen.“
- (4) Thomas sprach zu ihm: „Lehrer, mein Mund <vermag> es ganz und gar nicht zu ertragen zu sagen, wem du gleichst.“
- (5) Jesus sprach: „Ich bin nicht dein Lehrer. Denn du hast getrunken, du hast dich berauscht an der sprudelnden Quelle, die ich ausgemessen habe.“
- (6) Und er nahm ihn, (und) er zog sich zurück, (und) er sagte ihm drei Worte.
- (7) Als Thomas aber zu seinen Gefährten kam, befragten sie ihn: „Was hat dir Jesus gesagt?“
- (8) Thomas sprach zu ihnen: „Wenn ich euch eines von den Worten sage, die er mir gesagt hat, werdet ihr Steine aufheben (und) auf mich werfen, und Feuer wird aus den Steinen herauskommen (und) euch verbrennen.“

Neben dem Incipit ist dies die einzige Stelle, an der Thomas explizit genannt wird. Er erscheint in der Rolle desjenigen, der den anderen Jüngern darin überlegen ist, dass er sich bereits an Jesu Worten „berauscht“ hat. Jesus weist es deshalb zurück, von Thomas als „Lehrer“ angedredet zu werden. Das Bild vom „Rausch“, das hier auf die Worte Jesu bezogen wird, ist im EvThom gleichwohl negativ besetzt (vergleiche das oben genannte Logion 28). Die Verwendung der Metapher in Logion 13 ist deshalb am besten so aufzufassen, dass Thomas die Bedeutung der Lehre Jesu als Weg zur Erlösung erkannt hat, diese jedoch nicht in der angemessenen Weise zu deuten weiß. Deshalb bedarf es der drei Worte, die Jesus ihm sagt und die Thomas anschließend seinen Mitjüngern nicht mitteilen will. Diese Worte beziehen sich offenbar auf das richtige Verständnis der Worte Jesu, sie sind zugleich derart provozierend, dass Thomas Gewalt gegen sich erwarten muss, wenn er sie preisgeben würde. Möglicherweise haben die drei Worte das Gleichsein von Thomas mit Jesus zum Inhalt.<sup>53</sup> Darauf könnte das in Logion 108 genannte Gleichwerden mit Jesus hinweisen, das durch Thomas paradigmatisch verkörpert wird.<sup>54</sup> Es ist jedoch ernst zu nehmen, dass die drei Worte gerade nicht mitgeteilt werden, so dass jeder Versuch ihrer Identifizierung notwendig hypothetisch bleiben muss.

Eine vom EvThom deutlich unterschiedene Konzeption entwickeln solche Schriften, die die nachösterliche Erscheinung Jesu von seiner vorösterlichen Wirksamkeit deutlich absetzen und zum Ausgangspunkt einer eigenen Darstellung seiner Lehre werden lassen. Deren wesentlicher Inhalt sind Dialoge Jesu mit

<sup>52</sup> Vgl. Lk 7,24; 9,52. Andere Übersetzungen haben „Engel“ für ἄγγελος.

<sup>53</sup> Vgl. Marco Frenschkowski, „The Enigma of the Three Words of Jesus in Gospel of Thomas Logion 13,“ *Journal of Higher Criticism* 1 (1994): 73–84. Nach Frenschkowski müssen die Worte ἐγὼ σὺ εἶμι gelautet haben.

<sup>54</sup> Die Bedeutung des Namens „Thomas“ („Zwilling“) könnte dafür symbolisch stehen.

seinen Jüngerinnen und Jüngern, die an die Erscheinungserzählungen der älteren Evangelien anknüpfen und die nunmehr vermittelte Lehre als eine solche des auferstandenen Jesus präsentieren.<sup>55</sup> Das zugrundeliegende Konzept ist dabei dasjenige einer Überbietung der Lehre des irdischen Jesus durch neue Inhalte, die sich etwa auf die Entstehung der Welt, die Erschaffung des Menschen oder die Rückkehr der Seele in den oberen Bereich beziehen.<sup>56</sup>

Das EvThom teilt mit diesen Schriften einige Merkmale, ist aber auch von ihnen unterschieden. So ist auch im EvThom eine Anthropologie anzutreffen, die sich mittelpatonischer Vorstellungen bedient. Dazu gehört die Beurteilung der „Welt“ als eines „Leichnams“ (πτῶμα, Logion 56) bzw. als eines „Leibes“ (σῶμα, Logion 80).<sup>57</sup> Beide Logien bringen zum Ausdruck, dass die Einsicht in die Worte Jesu dazu führt, die Welt als vorläufig und der Vergänglichkeit unterworfen zu erkennen, als einen nur vorübergehenden Aufenthaltsort der Menschen, die zur Erkenntnis gelangt sind. Dem entspricht die anthropologische Vorstellung von Bild und Abbild. Nach Logion 49 ist das Königreich der Ort, aus dem die Menschen stammen und zu dem sie wieder zurückkehren werden. In Logion 50 wird dies mit der Vorstellung vom Licht, das im Bild (εἰκὼν) erschienen ist, verbunden.<sup>58</sup> Hier wird die platonische Vorstellung vom Bild aufgegriffen, das einen himmlischen Ursprung hat und in einem irdischen Abbild wahrnehmbar ist. Diese Vorstellung begegnet noch einmal in Logion 83 und 84. Auch hier werden die Herkunft des Menschen und seine Existenz in der Welt im Modell von Licht, Bild und Abbild beschrieben, auch wenn eine genaue Interpretation dieser Logien schwierig bleibt.<sup>59</sup> Des Weiteren unterscheidet das EvThom zwischen Fleisch und Geist des Menschen: Das Fleisch (σὰρξ) ist wegen des Geistes (πνεῦμα) entstanden,

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55 Das Verhältnis dieser „Dialogevangelien“ zu den neutestamentlichen Evangelien behandelt Judith Hartenstein, *Die Zweite Lehre: Erscheinungen des Auferstandenen als Rahmenerzählungen frühchristlicher Dialoge*, TU 146 (Berlin: de Gruyter), 2000.

56 Wichtige Vertreter dieser Textgruppe sind das Apokryphon des Johannes, die Epistula Jacobi Apocrypha, das Evangelium nach Maria sowie die Sophia Jesu Christi.

57 Vgl. hierzu Miroshnikov, *Gospel of Thomas* (Anm. 18), 46–63.

58 Jesus spricht: „Wenn sie zu euch sagen: ‘Woher stammt ihr?’, (dann) sagt ihnen: ‘Wir sind aus dem Licht gekommen, dem Ort, wo das Licht entstanden ist aus sich selbst, [sich] hingestellt hat und in ihrem Bild erschienen ist.’“

59 Vgl. Gathercole, *Gospel of Thomas* (Anm. 1), 509–515. Will man für beide Logien einen einheitlichen Vorstellungshintergrund rekonstruieren, würde dieser etwa so aussehen: Die Menschen haben himmlische (Ur-)Bilder, die das „Licht des Vaters“ enthalten. Ihre irdische Existenz ist ein sichtbares „Abbild“ (εἰκὼν) dieser himmlischen Bilder. Nicht ganz deutlich ist zudem die syntaktische Zuordnung von εἰς τὴν εἰκὼν τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκείνου in Log. 83. Es kann sich entweder auf das Vorangegangene beziehen (das Licht der Bilder ist verborgen „im Bild des Lichtes des Vaters“) oder auf das Folgende „Das Licht des Vaters wird sich offenbaren [...]“.

der Geist seinerseits wegen des Körpers.<sup>60</sup> Fleisch und Seele sind zwar im Menschen miteinander verbunden, müssen aber wieder voneinander getrennt werden.<sup>61</sup> Diese anthropologische Vorstellung hängt eng mit derjenigen von der Erwähltheit und ursprünglichen Einheit des Menschen zusammen, die im EvThom verschiedentlich zum Ausdruck kommt.<sup>62</sup>

Die Anthropologie des EvThom macht demnach Anleihen bei philosophischen Vorstellungen vom himmlischen Ursprung des Menschen und seiner Rückkehr dorthin. Dieser Zusammenhang wird jedoch nicht, etwa in Form einer mythologischen Erzählung, eigens ausgeführt. Weder begegnet eine Kosmogonie, wie dies in anderen Nag-Hammadi-Schriften – etwa im Apokryphon des Johannes (NHC II,1; III,1; IV,1; BG 2) oder in der Hypostase der Archonten (NHC II,4) – der Fall ist, noch findet sich eine Interpretation von Gen 1,26 bzw. 2,7, wie sie bei Philo oder in gnostisch-mythologischer Tradition anzutreffen ist.<sup>63</sup> Neben den Berührungen der Anthropologie des EvThom mit derartigen Traditionen, gibt es auch deutliche Unterschiede. So wird weder (wie etwa in der „Hypostase der Archonten“) die Erschaffung des Menschen auf Archonten zurückgeführt noch werden wie bei Philo zwei unterschiedliche „Menschentypen“ voneinander unterschieden, von denen der erste, nach dem Bild Gottes geschaffene unvergänglich, der zweite, irdische dagegen vergänglich ist. Die Anthropologie des EvThom zielt dagegen darauf ab, den Menschen als denjenigen zu charakterisieren, der durch die Deutung der Worte Jesu zum „Königreich des Vaters“ als seinem Ursprung zurückkehrt. Dementsprechend wird auch die Vorstellung einer künftigen Auferstehung als unzureichend zurückgewiesen. Stattdessen geht es darum, bereits in

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**60** Log. 29. Das Logion bringt beide Perspektiven zueinander: Das Fleisch existiert, um dem Geist eine „Behausung“ zu bieten, der Geist ist dazu da, dem Fleisch (dem menschlichen Körper) besondere Dignität zu verleihen.

**61** Log. 112: Ein doppelter Weheruf an Fleisch und Seele, nicht an dem jeweils anderen zu hängen (vgl. auch Log. 87). Die Leib-Seele-Anthropologie, die sich platonischer Tradition verdankt, hat vielfältige Parallelen sowohl in frühjüdischen als auch in frühchristlichen Schriften. Dass sie auch im EvThom begegnet, verwundert angesichts dessen nicht.

**62** In Log. 16; 49 und 75 werden die „Einzelnen“ (ἰμοναχοι) genannt, in Log. 49 neben den „Erwählten“. Log. 4; 22 und 23 verwendet die Wendung „ein Einzelner“. In Log. 4; 106 und 114 ist zudem davon die Rede, dass aus zwei eins gemacht werden soll. Dies wird verbunden mit der Überwindung der Differenz von männlich und weiblich, die als dem Ursprung des Menschen gegenüber sekundär betrachtet wird.

**63** Vgl. Philo, Leg.All. 1,31f.; Op.Mund. 134f.; AJ (NHC II,1, p. 22–23); HA (NHC II,4, p. 87,23–88,16); ÄgEv (NHC II,2, p. 59,1–9).

der Gegenwart die Bedeutung der Worte Jesu zu erkennen und entsprechend zu leben.<sup>64</sup>

Das EvThom setzt demnach bereits existierende Jesusüberlieferungen und Erzählungen über sein irdisches Wirken voraus. Dazu gehören auch solche Worte und Gleichnisse, die gängigerweise zur ältesten Jesusüberlieferung gerechnet werden. Im EvThom werden diese Überlieferungen in ein Konzept gestellt, das auf eine narrative Präsentation des Weges Jesu ebenso verzichtet wie auf die Unterscheidung verschiedener Stadien seines Wirkens. Stattdessen werden die einzelnen Überlieferungen als Anleitungen geboten, den Weg zum wahren Menschsein zu finden, das seinen Ursprung im „Königreich des Vaters“ hat, wohin deshalb der Weg der Menschen auch wieder zurückführen soll. Das EvThom hat dabei damit eine deutliche ethische Ausrichtung. Es zeichnet die Nachfolge Jesu als radikalen Lebensstil, der vom Wissen um die Vorläufigkeit der Welt und die wahre Bestimmung des Menschen geprägt ist.

### 3 Merkmale der Lehre Jesu im EvThom

Die Lehre Jesu im EvThom ruft zu einer Lebensweise auf, die sich als radikal und asketisch charakterisieren lässt. Als spezifische Merkmale treten dabei die Konzentration auf die einzelnen Erwählten sowie die kritische Auseinandersetzung mit jüdischen Ritualen in den Blick.

Bereits am Beginn des EvThom wird deutlich, dass die Lehre Jesu auf das Suchen und Finden von Erkenntnis zielt. Logion 2 nimmt den Begriff „finden“ (εὕρισκεν, ὦνε) aus Logion 1 auf und vertieft ihn durch eine Betrachtung desjenigen Prozesses, der vom Suchen zum Finden, Bestürzt- und Erstauntsein und schließlich zum „Königsein über das All“ führt.<sup>65</sup> Damit wird eine philosophische Betrachtung vorgenommen, die das Finden der Bedeutung der Worte Jesu mit dem Ziel des Lebensweges des Menschen insgesamt in Beziehung setzt. Als Kontext für diese Betrachtung bieten sich weniger die biblischen Analogien über das Suchen und Finden an<sup>66</sup> als vielmehr die bei Clemens von Alexandria zu findenden

<sup>64</sup> Log. 51: (1) Es sprachen zu ihm seine Jünger: „Wann wird die <Auferstehung> der Toten geschehen, und wann wird die neue Welt kommen?“ (2) Er sprach zu ihnen: „Die (Auferstehung), die ihr erwartet, ist (schon) gekommen, aber ihr erkennt sie nicht.“

<sup>65</sup> Der griechische Text weist ein Glied weniger auf. Möglicherweise enthielt er das Verbum „Erstauntsein“ (θαμβηθήσεται) in Z. 7 und 8. Allerdings ist davon nur -βηθείς auf Z. 8 erhalten. Ein weiterer Unterschied scheint im Schluss des Logions zu bestehen. Das finale -ήσεται in Z. 9 lässt sich möglicherweise zu ἐπαναπαύσεται ergänzen, obwohl hier Unsicherheiten bleiben.

<sup>66</sup> Vgl. etwa Dtn 4,29; 8,17; Mt 7,7 f./Lk 11,9 f.

Parallelen, die dort als philosophischer Lebensweg bzw. als Interpretation der Lehre Platons über das Gottähnlichwerden als Ziel der Erkenntnis angeführt werden.<sup>67</sup> An der ersten Stelle führt Clemens das Wort als Zitat aus dem Hebräerevangelium an, was darauf schließen lässt, dass es innerhalb der frühen Jesusüberlieferung bereits bekannt war.

Das Thema der Selbst- und Welterkenntnis spielt in weiteren Logien des EvThom eine wichtige Rolle.<sup>68</sup> Das EvThom gehört damit in den Kreis derjenigen Schriften des frühen Christentums, die die christliche Lehre mit Elementen platonischer Philosophie verbinden und sie auf diese Weise für neue Kontexte erschließen.

Zu diesem Charakter der Lehre Jesu gehört auch die Ausrichtung auf den einzelnen Menschen. Häufiger treten die „Einzelnen“ und „Erwählten“ als Adressaten der Lehre Jesu sowie die Orientierung an der „Einzigkeit“ des Menschen als seinem Ursprung und seinem Ziel in den Blick.<sup>69</sup> Zwar begegnet im EvThom häufig die Anrede in der 2. Person Plural, wobei zumeist die Jünger die Angeredeten sind, und es finden sich auch ethische Weisungen für den Umgang untereinander.<sup>70</sup> Gleichwohl zielt die Lehre Jesu auf die Einzelnen, die die Bedeutung seiner Worte erkennen sollen, wogegen auf eine Gemeinschaft bezogene Weisungen, etwa zur Gestaltung von Versammlungen, zu Gebeten oder Sakramenten, fehlen.

Eine bemerkenswerte Facette in diesem Zusammenhang ist die häufige Erwähnung jüdischer Rituale, zu denen das EvThom eine kritische Haltung ein-

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**67** Clemens Al., Strom. 2,9,45,4f. „ὁ θαυμάσας βασιλεύσει“ γέγραπται „καὶ ὁ βασιλεύσας ἀναπαύσεται“; 5,14,96,3: οὐ παύσεται ὁ ζητῶν, ἕως ἂν εὕρῃ· εὕρων δὲ θαμβηθήσεται, θαμβηθεὶς δὲ βασιλεύσει, βασιλεύσας δὲ ἐπαναπαύσεται.

**68** Zu nennen wären etwa Log. 3: „Wenn ihr euch erkennt, dann werdet ihr erkannt werden, und ihr werdet begreifen, dass ihr die Kinder des lebendigen Vaters seid. Wenn ihr euch aber nicht erkennt, dann existiert ihr in Armut, und ihr seid die Armut.“; 5: Jesus spricht: „Erkenne, was vor deinem Angesicht ist, und das, was für dich verborgen ist, wird sich dir enthüllen. Denn es gibt nichts Verborgenes, das nicht offenbar werden wird.“; 18: Die Jünger sprachen zu Jesus: „Sage uns, wie wird unser Ende sein?“ Jesus sprach: „Habt ihr denn schon den Anfang entdeckt, dass ihr jetzt nach dem Ende fragt? Denn wo der Anfang ist, dort wird auch das Ende sein. Selig ist der, der im Anfang stehen wird. Da wird er das Ende erkennen und er wird den Tod nicht schmecken.“ 56: Jesus spricht: „Wer die Welt erkannt hat, hat eine Leiche gefunden. Und wer die(se) Leiche gefunden hat, dessen ist die Welt nicht würdig.“

**69** Vgl. oben Anm. 62.

**70** Vgl. etwa Log. 25: Jesus spricht: „Liebe deinen Bruder wie dein Leben! Behüte ihn wie deinen Augapfel!“; 62,2: „Was deine Rechte tun wird – deine Linke soll nicht wissen, was sie tut.“



nimmt.<sup>71</sup> Dazu gehören Almosengeben, Beten und Fasten, die in Logion 6 und 14 negativ beurteilt und als Praxis der Jünger Jesu ausgeschlossen werden. Beten und Fasten werden noch einmal in Logion 104 genannt und dort ebenfalls mit der rhetorischen Frage nach der Sünde, die Jesus begangen haben soll, zurückgewiesen.<sup>72</sup> In Logion 27 wird die Einhaltung des Sabbats als „Fasten gegenüber der Welt“ interpretiert.<sup>73</sup> „Den Sabbat zum Sabbat machen“ zielt hier demnach nicht auf ein bestimmtes jüdisches Ritual, sondern auf eine grundsätzliche Haltung zur Welt.<sup>74</sup> In Logion 53 wird die Beschneidung durch den Hinweis auf die Schöpfungsordnung überboten, die dieses Ritual als nutzlos erscheinen lässt.<sup>75</sup> Zu nennen sind des Weiteren die Hinweise auf jüdische Reinheitsrituale<sup>76</sup> sowie auf die Pharisäer und Schriftgelehrten, die die Erkenntnis verhindern.<sup>77</sup>

Jesu Lehre wird im EvThom demnach häufiger im Kontrast zu jüdischen Ritualen bzw. als ihre Radikalisierung dargestellt. Daraus ist nicht notwendig auf eine aktuelle Auseinandersetzung des EvThom mit dem Judentum zu schließen. Eine solche Deutung wäre angesichts der oben genannten weitgehend unpolenischen Präsentation des Auftretens Jesu sowie der Tatsache, dass seine Worte als philosophische Lehre über den Weg zurück zum Ursprung des Menschen präsentiert werden, eher unwahrscheinlich. Die Rekurse auf jüdische Traditionen

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71 Vgl. Jens Schröter, „Jüdische Metaphern im Thomasevangelium,“ in *The Metaphorical Use of Language in Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature* (Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Yearbook 2014/2015), hg. Markus Witte und Sven Behnke (Berlin u. a.: de Gruyter, 2014), 427–447.

72 Sie sprachen zu [Jesus]: „Komm, lasst uns heute beten und fasten!“ Jesus sprach: „Was ist denn die Sünde, die ich getan habe oder worin wurde ich besiegt? Aber wenn der Bräutigam aus dem Brautgemach herauskommt, dann soll man fasten und beten.“

73  $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\kappa\tau\eta\tau\eta\rho\eta\eta\mid\sigma\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon\epsilon\ \epsilon\pi\kappa\omicron\sigma\mu\omicron\varsigma\ \tau\epsilon\tau\eta\nu\alpha\epsilon\ \alpha\eta\ \epsilon\tau\eta\nu\tau\epsilon\mid\ \rho\omicron\ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\eta\tau\eta\epsilon\iota\epsilon\ \eta\pi\sigma\alpha\mu\beta\alpha\tau\omicron\eta\ \eta\varsigma\alpha\upsilon\ \epsilon\tau\eta\nu\tau\epsilon\mid$  Vgl. Peter Nagel, „„Wenn ihr nicht den Sabbat zum Sabbat macht?“ Zu EvThom Logion 27,“ in *Sprachen, Mythen, Mythizismen* (FS Walter Beltz), hg. Armenuhi Drost-Abgarjan, Jürgen Tubach und Mohsen Zakeri, Hallesche Beiträge zur Orientwissenschaft 32 (Halle: Institut für Orientwissenschaft, 2004), 507–517.

74 Eine andere Interpretation hat Paul Linjamaa vorgelegt. Ihm zufolge enthält das Logion die Aufforderung, am Sabbat zu ruhen, um Zeit zur Kontemplation zu haben. Vgl. ders., *Savoring* (Anm. 17).

75 Es sprachen zu ihm seine Jünger: „Ist die Beschneidung von Nutzen oder nicht?“ Er sprach zu ihnen: „Wenn sie von Nutzen wäre, würde sie ihr Vater beschnitten aus ihrer Mutter zeugen. Jedoch die wahre Beschneidung im Geist hat alles gewonnen.“

76 Log. 89: Jesus spricht: „Weshalb wascht ihr die Außenseite des Bechers? Versteht ihr nicht, dass der, der die Innenseite geschaffen hat, auch der ist, der die Außenseite geschaffen hat?“

77 Log. 39: Jesus spricht: „Die Pharisäer und die Schriftgelehrten haben die Schlüssel der Erkenntnis empfangen, (doch) sie haben sie versteckt. Weder sind sie hineingegangen noch haben sie die gelassen, die hineingehen wollten. Ihr aber seid klug wie Schlangen und lauter wie Tauben!“; Log. 102: Jesus spricht: „Wehe ihnen, den Pharisäern, denn sie gleichen einem Hund, der auf dem Futtertrog der Rinder schläft, denn weder frisst er noch [lässt] er die Rinder fressen.“

lassen sich stattdessen besser als Hinweise auf eine Deutung des Wirkens Jesu interpretieren, die sich gegen kultisch-rituelle Praktiken überhaupt wendet und stattdessen ein radikales Ethos der Weltverleugnung und Liebe zum Bruder einfordert. Dahinter könnte eine Kritik an einer an Gemeindeleben und Sakramenten orientierten christlichen Praxis,<sup>78</sup> möglicherweise auch eine solche an der Deutung der Lehre Jesu im Horizont jüdischer Schriften und Traditionen stehen.<sup>79</sup> Das EvThom wäre demgegenüber auf eine philosophisch-ethische Belehrung des einzelnen – männlichen – Jesusnachfolgers gerichtet,<sup>80</sup> die die narrative Jesusüberlieferung in ein Konzept stellt, das auf die Vollendung des Menschseins durch Einsicht in dessen wahre Natur, seinen Ursprung und die daraus folgenden Konsequenzen für die Lebenshaltung zielt.

## 4 Das EvThom im frühen Christentum

Abschließend soll ein Blick auf die Manuskriptbezeugung des EvThom und die Schlüsse, die sich daraus im Blick auf seine Verwendung im frühen Christentum ziehen lassen, geworfen werden. Wie oben bereits angemerkt, handelt es sich bei dem koptischen Text aus Nag-Hammadi-Kodex II aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach

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**78** Vergleichbar ist der Befund in P.Oxy. 840, wo hinter dem Disput zwischen Jesus und dem Pharisäer und Hohepriester Levi über die Reinheit vermutlich konkurrierende Auffassungen über die Taufe stehen. Möglicherweise spiegelt auch die Erzählung von der Heilung eines Aussätzigen auf P.Eg. 2, Frg. 1 recto, Z. 11–23/P. Köln 255 recto eine ähnliche Tendenz wider. Aufgrund des fragmentarischen Zustands bleibt dies aber unsicher.

**79** Hierauf könnte insbesondere Log. 52 verweisen: Es sprachen zu ihm seine Jünger: „24 Propheten haben in Israel gesprochen, und alle haben durch dich gesprochen.“ Er sprach zu ihnen: „Ihr habt den Lebendigen von euch gestoßen, und ihr habt angefangen, von den Toten zu sprechen.“ Der „lebendige“ Jesus wird hier in Gegensatz zu den „toten“ Propheten Israels gestellt, was als Diskreditierung der Schriften Israels aufgefasst werden kann.

**80** Das EvThom favorisiert die Männlichkeit der Nachfolger Jesu. Zwar treten auch Frauen als Gesprächspartnerinnen Jesu auf (Log. 21: Maria; 61: Salome) und Salome bezeichnet sich ausdrücklich als Jüngerin Jesu (Log. 61.4). Der letzte Satz des EvThom macht aber deutlich, dass Frauen dann, wenn sie sich „männlich machen“, in das Königreich der Himmel eingehen werden. Dieses Konzept lässt sich der Orientierung an der Einheit und Einzigkeit des Menschen zuordnen, zu der auch die Überwindung geschlechtlicher Differenzen gehört. Nach Log. 22,5 geschieht dies so, dass das Männliche und das Weibliche zu einem einzigen gemacht werden. Log. 114 stellt dies so dar, dass die Weiblichkeit zur Männlichkeit werden muss. Vermutlich steht dahinter die Vorstellung des ursprünglich männlich geschaffenen Menschen, demgegenüber die Unterteilung in männlich und weiblich sekundär ist. Vergleichbar hiermit ist Clemens Al., Strom. 6,12,100,3 sowie Ex.Theod. 21 (Lehre der Valentinianer); 68; 79.

um eine Übersetzung aus dem Griechischen.<sup>81</sup> Zu beachten ist weiter, dass die griechischen Fragmente verschiedenen Manuskripten aus dem späteren 2. bzw. frühen 3. Jahrhundert angehören. Daraus lässt sich auf eine Entstehung des EvThom im späteren zweiten Jahrhundert schließen. Den Manuskripten lassen sich zudem Spuren der Überlieferungsgeschichte und Verwendung des EvThom im frühen Christentum entnehmen.

P.Oxy. 654 und 1 stehen in einem engen Verhältnis zum koptischen Exemplar aus Nag Hammadi. Alle drei Manuskripte sind durch einzelne, separat eingeleitete und zum Teil durch zusätzliche Markierungen voneinander abgesetzte Jesusworte charakterisiert, die zudem überwiegend in der gleichen Abfolge begegnen. Die Übereinstimmungen zwischen diesen Fragmenten und dem koptischen Manuskript verweisen demnach auf eine literarische Beziehung, auch wenn diese nicht mehr bis ins Letzte aufzuhellen ist.<sup>82</sup> P.Oxy. 655 besteht dagegen aus einem Dialog Jesu mit seinen Jüngern, der von den häufig als Analogien angeführten Logien des EvThom markant unterschieden ist.<sup>83</sup> Ein analoger Befund ist beim Verhältnis des EvThom zu den synoptischen Evangelien zu konstatieren. Dies lässt den Schluss zu, dass narrative Überlieferungen bei ihrer Aufnahme in das EvThom in die Form separat eingeleiteter Jesusworte bzw. kurzer Szenen gebracht wurden. Das Verhältnis zwischen P.Oxy. 655 und dem koptischen Manuskript aus Nag Hammadi muss demzufolge in eigener Weise betrachtet werden, was bei einer gemeinsamen Behandlung aller drei griechischen Papyri, die verbreitete Praxis ist, nur unzureichend erkennbar wird. Insgesamt lässt sich aus dem Vergleich der Manuskripte erkennen, dass das EvThom eine Überliefe-

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**81** Vgl. oben Anm. 25. Die Beziehungen zu syrischen Textformen und die frühe Rezeption des EvThom im syrischen Bereich könnten auf eine Entstehung im syrischen Kontext hinweisen. Das wird mitunter vermutet, bleibt allerdings hypothetisch.

**82** So kann etwa nicht davon ausgegangen werden, dass einer der erhaltenen Papyri dem koptischen Übersetzer vorgelegen hat. Vielmehr ist denkbar, dass weitere, nicht erhaltene Versionen des EvThom existierten. Zudem kann der koptische Übersetzer von der Übersetzung des Neuen Testaments ins Koptische sowie von weiteren frühchristlichen Texten beeinflusst worden sein. Eine „Rückübersetzung“ aus dem Koptischen ins Griechische ist deshalb ein problematisches Unterfangen.

**83** P.Oxy. 655 enthält auf Z. 1–17 eine Rede Jesu über das Nicht-Sorgen um Nahrung und Kleidung, das Wort von den Lilien, die nicht krepeln und nicht spinnen und doch ein Kleid haben, die rhetorische Frage an die Jünger, wer ihrem Lebensalter etwas hinzufügen könne sowie den Hinweis auf das Kleid, das Gott ihnen geben wird. Im koptischen Text findet sich nur der Satz: „Jesus spricht: ‚Tragt nicht Sorge vom Morgen bis zum Abend und von der Abendzeit bis zum Morgen, was ihr anziehen werdet““.

rungsgeschichte durchlaufen hat, innerhalb derer die einzelnen Logien in Abfolge und Wortlaut verändert wurden.<sup>84</sup>

Ein genauerer Blick auf die Manuskripte<sup>85</sup> zeigt, dass P.Oxy. 654 auf einer wiederverwendeten Rolle geschrieben wurde und verschiedene Nachlässigkeiten wie die bekannte Verschreibung am Beginn<sup>86</sup> und später nachgetragene vergessene Worte aufweist.<sup>87</sup> Die offensichtlich als Lesehilfen gedachten Trennungen zwischen den einzelnen Logien könnten darauf hinweisen, dass das Manuskript zur Verlesung in einer christlichen Hausgemeinde angefertigt wurde. P.Oxy. 1 stammt von einem Kodex und enthält mehrere nomina sacra bzw. abgekürzt geschriebene Worte.<sup>88</sup> Das Kodexformat sowie die Gestaltung könnten darauf verweisen, dass das Blatt zu einem Exemplar des EvThom gehörte, das zur Verlesung in einer Gemeinschaft gedacht war.<sup>89</sup>

Das koptische Manuskript aus Nag Hammadi verweist auf einen anderen Gebrauch. Wenn die Nag-Hammadi-Codices einem monastischen Milieu entstammen sollten, wie neuerdings wieder vertreten wurde,<sup>90</sup> wäre das EvThom hier in einer von den griechischen Fragmenten verschiedenen Weise verwendet worden. Es wurde nunmehr mit anderen Texten zusammengestellt, wobei das Apokryphon des Johannes am Anfang von Kodex II (wie auch von Kodex III und IV) steht und das Philippusevangelium dem EvThom folgt. Ob dies auf eine bewusste Anordnung zurückgeht, die sich für das zugrundeliegende Verständnis der Schriften auswerten lässt, bleibt unsicher. Denkbar wäre, dass AJ und EvPhil das EvThom dahingehend ergänzen, dass das AJ die Theogonie und Kosmogonie liefert, das EvPhil dagegen die Lehre über die Sakramente und die Auferstehung. Hier bleibt aber vieles Vermutung. Deutlich dürfte dagegen sein, dass sich einige

<sup>84</sup> Darauf verweist auch die bekannte Abweichung in der Anordnung zwischen P.Oxy. 1, Z. 23–30 und dem koptischen Text, wo diese hier offenbar als zusammengehörig aufgefassten Sätze auf zwei Logien aufgeteilt sind, die sich zudem an verschiedenen Orten finden (Log. 30 und 77b).

<sup>85</sup> Vgl. die Beschreibung bei Luijendijk, Reading (Anm. 23), 244–254; Larry Hurtado, „The Greek Fragments of the *Gospel of Thomas* as Artefacts: Papyrological Observations on Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 1, Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 654 and Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 655,“ in *Thomas-evangelium* (Anm. 1), 19–32; Schröter, Das Evangelium nach Thomas (Anm. 1), 488–492; Übersetzung 523–526.

<sup>86</sup> In der ersten Zeile findet sich OITOIOIOIAOTOI, was offenbar eine Verschreibung darstellt.

<sup>87</sup> In Z. 19 und 25 wurden die Worte YMEIE und OTI später über der Zeile nachgetragen.

<sup>88</sup> IE, OY, ANQN, IPA, IPIAL.

<sup>89</sup> So auch Luijendijk, Gospel of Thomas (Anm. 23), 253f. 256f. Anders Hurtado, Fragments (Anm. 85), 24. 26, der für beide Papyri einen privaten Gebrauch für wahrscheinlicher hält. Grenfell und Hunt hatten darauf verwiesen, dass sie P.Oxy. 1 gemeinsam mit einer Seite des MtEv (P.Oxy. 2) gefunden hatten. Ihre Vermutung, beide Texte könnten derselben christlichen Bibliothek entstammen, bleibt freilich unsicher.

<sup>90</sup> Vgl. Lundhaug/Jenott, Origins (Anm. 22).

Inhalte des EvThom – die Rede von den Einzelnen und Erwählten, die Aufforderung, sich der Welt zu enthalten und ein asketisches, auf die Kontemplation der Worte Jesu orientiertes Leben zu führen – für eine monastische Lektüre eigneten. Auf Gemeinschaft und Sakramente bezogene Weisungen finden sich dagegen in der Schrift nicht. In welcher Weise die Nag-Hammadi-Codices in einer Klosterbibliothek verwendet wurden und in welchem Verhältnis sie zu anderen, etwa zu biblischen Schriften standen, wäre genauer zu untersuchen. Daraus könnten sich ggf. auch Erkenntnisse über die Verwendung des EvThom in einem spätantiken monastischen Milieu ergeben.

## 5 Fazit

Die Stellung des EvThom in der frühchristlichen Literaturgeschichte lässt sich mit der Frage nach seinem Verhältnis zu den neutestamentlichen, insbesondere zu den synoptischen Evangelien kaum hinreichend beantworten. Vielmehr ist die Perspektive auszuweiten auf die frühchristliche Evangelienliteratur insgesamt, zu beachten sind des Weiteren Interpretationen des Wirkens und der Lehre Jesu Christi durch frühchristliche Theologen des 2. und 3. Jahrhunderts. Das EvThom erweist sich dabei als eine Schrift, die sich älterer Jesusüberlieferungen, darunter auch bereits existierender Jesuserzählungen, bedient und sie in neuer Weise interpretiert. Narrative Elemente sind dabei im EvThom gelegentlich anzutreffen, stehen allerdings nicht im Vordergrund. Das dem EvThom zugrundeliegende hermeneutische Konzept ist stattdessen dadurch charakterisiert, dass die Lehre Jesu in Form einzelner Worte, Gleichnisse und kurzer Szenen präsentiert und als Weg zum Ursprung des Menschseins aufgefasst wird. Die Anthropologie weist dabei Merkmale platonischer Philosophie auf, weshalb sich das EvThom zu den frühchristlichen Schriften rechnen lässt, die die christliche Botschaft mit platonischer Theologie vermitteln. Das Spezifikum des EvThom besteht dabei in der konsequenten Bindung dieser Lehre an die Person Jesu als Sprecher der Worte, die zum Ziel des Lebens führen.

Die Besonderheit des EvThom innerhalb der frühchristlichen Evangelien besteht weiter darin, dass keine verschiedenen Phasen des Auftretens Jesu voneinander unterschieden werden. Zwar wird das Kreuz Jesu erwähnt und auch die Frage nach der künftigen Auferstehung gestellt. Gerade diese Bezüge auf ältere Jesustraditionen zeigen jedoch, dass das EvThom nicht daran interessiert ist, Rekurse auf die Jesusgeschichte konsequent zu tilgen, sondern sie einer veränderten Sicht auf die Person Jesus zugänglich zu machen. Darin unterscheidet sich das EvThom sowohl von denjenigen Evangelien, die das irdische Wirken Jesu als ein solches darstellen, das sich in der Autorität und im Geist Gottes vollzog und dessen Bedeutung erst aus

einer nachösterlichen Perspektive erfasst werden kann, als auch von denen, die die nachösterliche Lehre Jesu als Vermittlung besonderer Offenbarungen präsentieren, die über sein irdisches Wirken hinausgehen.

Ob das EvThom mitunter ältere, von den synoptischen Evangelien unabhängige Jesusüberlieferungen enthält, ist somit in historischer und überlieferungsgeschichtlicher Hinsicht durchaus von Interesse. Für die Einordnung des EvThom in die frühchristliche Evangelienliteratur ist es jedoch nur von untergeordneter Bedeutung. Der eigene Beitrag des EvThom zur Rezeption der Person Jesu im frühen Christentum liegt indes darin, dass es Wirken und Lehre Jesu innerhalb eines eigenständigen hermeneutischen Konzeptes deutet.

Das EvThom hat offensichtlich eine längere Überlieferungsgeschichte im frühen Christentum durchlaufen. Seine Ursprünge reichen bis ins 2. Jahrhundert zurück, wobei es offenbar zunächst in christlichen Hausgemeinschaften oder auch zur privaten Lektüre verwendet wurde. Später könnte es auch in monastischen Kreisen Ägyptens gelesen worden sein.<sup>91</sup> Die dabei erfolgte Zusammenstellung mit anderen Schriften, wie sie sich in Kodex II aus Nag Hammadi findet, verweist dabei auf einen veränderten Verwendungskontext hin, in dem das EvThom nunmehr gemeinsam mit anderen Texten gelesen wurde.

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**91** Auf einer Mumienbinde aus dem 5./6. Jahrhundert, die ebenfalls in Oxyrhynchus gefunden wurde, findet sich der griechische Text: ΑΕΓΕΙ ΙΗΣΟΥΣ ΟΥΚ ΕΣΤΙΝ ΤΕΘΑΜΜΕΝΟΝ Ο ΟΥΚ ΕΓΕΡΘΗΣΕΤΑΙ. Sollte dieser Spruch auf einen Einfluss von P.Oxy. 654 zurückgehen, wo sich der entsprechende Text auf Zeile 31 findet (in Log. 5 aus Nag Hammadi fehlt der Passus dagegen), könnte dies auf eine Kenntnis des griechischen Textes eines Logions aus dem EvThom im spätantiken Ägypten hinweisen. Vgl. dazu AnneMarie Luijendijk, „Jesus says: ‘There is nothing buried that will not be raised’. A Late-Antique Shroud with Gospel of Thomas Logion 5 in Context,“ *ZAC* 15 (2011), 389–410.

Bernhard Mutschler

# Irenäus und die Evangelien

## Literarische Rezeption „des Herrn“ und Anschluss an eine Vierertradition

„Experiments in Reception“ lautet der Untertitel dieser Tagung. Gibt es im Blick auf Evangelien auch „Experiments in Irenaeus“?<sup>1</sup> Meine Antwort lautet: Ja, die gibt es, insbesondere im Bereich der vier kanonischen Evangelien. Deshalb stehen sie im Zentrum dieses Beitrags. Im Blick auf nicht kanonische Evangelien verfährt Irenäus zumindest normativ strikt nach der Maxime „Keine Experimente!“ Dementsprechend lehnt er diese durchgängig und vollständig ab.<sup>2</sup>

Was aber tut man, wenn der gewählte Gegenstand eher Stoff für eine Monographie als für einen Vortrag ist? Ich entscheide mich für einen Kompromiss aus einem Beispiel, grundlegenden Problemfeldern und Ergebnissen. Daher steht am Beginn (1) eine exemplarische Evangelienrezeption als Einstieg, ehe nach (2) Grundwissen und Grundvoraussetzungen im Blick auf die vier Evangelien gefragt wird. Am Ende wird die Frage nach (3) experimentellen Dimensionen in der irenäischen Evangelienauslegung ergebnisorientiert wieder aufgegriffen.

## 1 Ein Beispiel als Einstieg: Von den bösen Weingärtnern, Mt 21,33 – 43, in Haer. IV

Als Beispiel zum Einstieg dient die Rezeption der Gleichniserzählung „Von den bösen Weingärtnern“. Irenäus zitiert sie wörtlich (1) in Haer. IV 36,1, nimmt aber in

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1 Für eine neuere, konzise Einführung in Leben und Werk des Kirchenvaters s. John Behr, *Irenaeus of Lyons. Identifying Christianity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2013), 66 – 71 oder Paul Parvis, „Who was Irenaeus? An Introduction to the Man and his Work,“ in *Irenaeus. Life, Scripture, Legacy*, Hg. Sara Parvis und Paul Foster (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2012): 13 – 24.

2 Das Wenige, was Irenäus zu nicht kanonischen Evangelien überliefert, sichtet Paul Foster, *Irenaeus and the Noncanonical Gospels*, in: *Irenaeus. Life, Scripture, Legacy*, Hg. Sara Parvis, Paul Foster (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2012): 105 – 118. Seinem „known to Irenaeus“ im Blick auf das Judasevangelium, ebd., 116 stellt Johannes van Oort, *Irenaeus on the Gospel of Judas. An Analysis of the Evidence in Context*, in: *The Codex Judas Papers. Proceedings of the International Congress on the Tchacos Codex held at Rice University, Houston, Texas, March 13 – 16, 2008 (NHMS 71)*, ed. April D. DeConick (Leiden/Boston: Brill 2009): 50 gegenüber: „Irenaeus did not have any direct knowledge of the *Gospel of Judas*“, weitere Ergebnisse ebd., 54.

einem weiteren Kontext, der von (2) Haer. IV 35,4 bis 36,2 reicht, darauf Bezug. Das Beispiel wird durch ein erstes (3) Fazit beschlossen.

## 1.1 Mt 21,33b–43 in Haer. IV 36,1

In Haer. IV 36,1 bietet Irenäus ein längeres Zitat aus dem Matthäusevangelium:

„Jedem verstopft der Herr den Mund, der behauptet, die Propheten kämen von einem anderen Gott als von seinem Vater und sie seien von ganz unterschiedlichem Wesen und nicht aus ein und demselben Vater und irgendein anderer habe, was in dieser Welt ist, erschaffen, jedenfalls nicht sein Vater. Die Lehre des Herrn lautet so:

„Da war ein Hausvater, und er pflanzte einen Weinberg und umgab ihn mit einem Zaun; er grub darin eine Kelter und baute einen Turm. Er verpachtete ihn an Winzer und machte sich auf eine Reise nach auswärts. Als die Früchte reif wurden, schickte er seine Knechte zu den Winzern, damit sie seinen Anteil an den Früchten holten. Die Winzer ergriffen die Knechte. Den einen verprügelten sie, den anderen steinigten sie, den dritten brachten sie um. Da schickte er noch einmal andere Knechte, mehr als zuerst, und sie machten es mit ihnen genauso. Zuletzt schickte er seinen einzigen Sohn zu ihnen und sagte sich: Vor meinem Sohn haben sie vielleicht doch Respekt. Als die Winzer aber den Sohn sahen, sprachen sie untereinander: Das ist der Erbe, kommt, wir bringen ihn um, dann haben wir sein Erbe. Und sie ergriffen ihn, warfen ihn aus dem Weinberg hinaus und brachten ihn um. Wenn der Herr des Weinbergs aber zurückkommt, was wird er mit diesen Winzern machen? Und sie sagten zu ihm: Er wird die Übeltäter übel ruinieren und seinen Weinberg anderen Winzern verpachten, die ihm zur rechten Zeit die Früchte abliefern. Weiter sprach der Herr: Habt ihr nie gelesen: Den Stein, den die Bauleute verworfen haben, der ist zum Eckstein geworden; vom Herrn ist dies geschehen, und ein Wunder ist's vor unseren Augen? Deshalb sage ich euch, dass euch das Reich Gottes genommen und einem Volk gegeben wird, das seine Früchte bringt“ (Mt 21,33–43 par; vgl. Ps 118,22f: LXX Ps 117,22f).

Damit zeigt er seinen Jüngern deutlich, dass es nur ein und denselben Hausvater, und das heißt nur den einen Gott und Vater gibt, der alles aus sich gemacht hat; dass die Winzer aber verschieden sind, die einen, „schandbar und hochmütig“ (Röm 1,30), liefern keine Früchte ab und töten den Herrn; andere liefern dagegen in lauter Gehorsam zur entsprechenden Zeit die Früchte ab; und dass derselbe Hausvater einmal seine Knechte, dann aber seinen Sohn schickte. Von diesem Vater wurde also der Sohn zu den Winzern geschickt, die ihn töteten und auch die Knechte; aber der Sohn, mit höchster Autorität vom Vater gekommen, sprach: „Ich aber sage euch“; die Knechte dagegen, vom Herrn zu Knechten bestimmt, sagten deshalb so: „Dies spricht der Herr.“<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Haer. IV 36,1 (SC 100, 876,1–880,39 Rousseau et al.; Übersetzung FC 8/4, 297.299 Brox). In diesem Beitrag wird der Irenäustext nach folgender Ausgabe zitiert: *Contre les hérésies*, Livre I–V. Édition critique: Introduction, notes justificatives, tables, texte et traduction (SC 100. 152f.210f.263f.293f), Hg. Adelin Rousseau/Louis Doutreleau/Bertrand Hemmerdinger/Charles Mercier (Paris: Cerf 1965–1982). Die Übersetzung stammt aus: *Adversus Haereses*, Gegen die



Verschiedene Charakteristika der irenäischen Evangelienauslegung sind hier wie durch ein Brennglas gut zu erkennen. Wir betrachten zunächst die vordere Rahmung des Bibelzitats: (1) Für Irenäus spricht im gesamten Zitat nicht Matthäus, sondern „der Herr“ (*dominus*, ὁ κύριος).<sup>4</sup> (2) Das Zitat ist zwar dem Matthäusevangelium entnommen, aber darauf weist Irenäus weder unmittelbar noch im Kontext hin; für ihn ist es „der Herr“, der „so lehrt“ (*docens sic*, διδάσκων οὕτως).<sup>5</sup> (3) Eingeführt wird das Zitat als Beleg für eine dreifache theologische Zurückweisung: (a) Die Propheten reden „nicht von einem anderen Gott“, sondern vom Vater Jesu Christi,<sup>6</sup> (b) sie sprechen, sind<sup>7</sup> und kommen nicht „von einem anderen Wesen“, sondern vom einen und selben Vater,<sup>8</sup> und (c) alles in der Welt Geschaffene ist „nicht von irgendeinem anderen gemacht“, sondern ebenfalls vom Vater Jesu Christi.<sup>9</sup> Zurückgewiesen werden somit (a) eine *Dualität göttlicher Wesen* in der Heilsgeschichte, (b) die Vorstellung eines zwischen alttestamentlichen Propheten und dem Herrn *verschiedenen Wesens*, und (c) eine Unterschiedenheit zwischen dem *Schöpfer* der Welt und dem Vater Jesu Christi. (4) Da das Zitat als Lehre des Herrn eingeführt und als autoritatives Argument verwendet wird, richtet es sich gegen jede Meinung und gegen jede Person, die einen Gegensatz in die christliche Vorstellung von Gott einführen möchte. Anderslautende Lehrmeinungen und deren Träger werden vom Herrn selbst zurückgewiesen (*confutatur dominus*, ἐντρέπει ὁ κύριος). Positiv wird damit der Zusammenhang zwischen alttestamentlicher Prophetie und neutestamentlicher Christusoffenbarung bekräftigt: Beide sind auf denselben Gott bezogen.

Solchermaßen präludiert, spricht das folgende Zitat ganz und gar für sich selbst. Es kann deshalb ohne Unterbrechung zitiert werden. Auffällig ist, dass sich Irenäus exakt auf die Worte Jesu, seine Gleichniserzählung, beschränkt, Mt 21,33b–43. Dadurch erhält das Zitat als Argument eine besondere Stoßkraft, ein besonderes Momentum. Eine Auslegung des Evangelientextes im eigentlichen Sinn wird nicht geboten, genauso wenig wie eine Rückfrage nach einer Theologie des Matthäus oder nach einer Aussageabsicht Jesu zu seiner Zeit. Stattdessen wird das Zitat so eingeführt, dass sich ein unmittelbarer Anwendungsbezug auf die

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Häresien. Übersetzt und eingeleitet von Norbert Brox (FC 8/2–5). 4 Bde. (Freiburg et al.: Herder 1993.1995.1997.2001.)

4 Haer. IV 36,1 (Rousseau, Contre les hérésies, 876,1).

5 Ebd. (Rousseau, Contre les hérésies, 876,5).

6 Ebd. (Rousseau, Contre les hérésies, 876,1.5).

7 Dreimaliges *neque*, Haer. IV 36,1 (Rousseau, Contre les hérésies, 878,1–5). Beim mittleren Glied ergänzt N. Brox, Gegen die Häresien IV (Anm. 3), 297 sachgemäß „seien“.

8 Haer. IV 36,1 (Rousseau, Contre les hérésies, 876,2f).

9 Ebd. (Rousseau, Contre les hérésies, 876,4f).

aktuelle antignostische Argumentation des Irenäus ergibt. Im Einklang mit der Zitateinleitung greift der Bischof nur an einer einzigen Stelle gezielt in den Zitatverlauf ein (Mt 21,42a). Insgesamt weist der irenäische Wortlaut jedoch eine hohe Übereinstimmung mit dem Evangelientext von Mt 21,33b–43 auf.<sup>10</sup> Vergleicht man die Rückübersetzung der SC-Ausgabe mit dem Text von Nestle-Aland (28. Auflage), so ist – neben Einfügungen zur Verstärkung von Aussagen, die Personen voneinander abheben,<sup>11</sup> einer gewissen Variationsbreite der Retroversion<sup>12</sup> sowie einer einzigen Auslassung, die gut als Haplographie im Lateinischen erklärbar ist,<sup>13</sup> – besonders eine im Sinn von Irenäus vorgenommene Umformung der Redeeinleitung zum Zitat von Psalm 118,22f auffällig: Πάλιν ὁ Κύριος (*Iterum Dominus dixit*) gegenüber Λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς.<sup>14</sup>

Durchaus ungewöhnlich für die irenäische Evangelienauslegung ist die Länge des Zitats. Nur ein einziges wörtliches Evangelienzitat im gesamten Werk des Lyoneser Bischofs ist geringfügig länger; auch jenes stammt übrigens aus dem Matthäusevangelium.<sup>15</sup> Wie ist die besondere Länge des vorliegenden Zitats zu erklären? Am einfachsten wäre, wenn es durchgängig die Argumentation des Irenäus unterstützen würde. Tatsächlich ist dies der Fall: Der eine und selbe *paterfamilias* bzw. οἰκοδεσπότης bildet den Bezugspunkt während der gesamten Gleichniserzählung:

**10** Zu textgeschichtlichen Fragen s. auch William C. Price, *The Textual Relationships of Quotations from the Four Gospels in Irenaeus' Against Heresies* (Diss. masch. Fort Worth, TX 1989), 75–78.

**11** Dazu zählen in Mt 21,33 ἄνθρωπός τις gegenüber ἄνθρωπος, in V. 35 τοὺς δούλους αὐτοῦ gegenüber τοὺς δούλους, in V. 37 τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἀγαπητόν gegenüber τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ sowie ἴσως ἐντραπήσονται gegenüber ἐντραπήσονται.

**12** Dazu zählen das Schluss-v von περιέθηκε, Haer. IV 36,1 (Rousseau, *Contre les hérésies*, 877,7), gegenüber περιέθηκεν (Mt 21,33) vor καὶ und die grammatische Variation ἐξέδοτο, Haer. IV 36,1 (879,8) gegenüber ἐξέδετο im selben Vers. Eine zumindest zweifelhafte (m. E. ungenügende) Retroversion von *Et apprehensum eum ejecerunt extra vineam et occiderunt*, Haer. IV 36,1 (Rousseau, *Contre les hérésies*, 878,17f) durch καὶ λαβόντες ἐπέτειναν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐξέβαλον ἔξω τοῦ ἀμπελῶνος, ebd. (879,19f), erklärt den Unterschied zum biblischen Text καὶ λαβόντες αὐτὸν ἐξέβαλον ἔξω τοῦ ἀμπελῶνος καὶ ἀπέκτειναν (Mt 21,39).

**13** Vgl. *Numquam legistis*, Haer. IV 36,1 (Rousseau, *Contre les hérésies*, 878,22), mit οὐδέποτε ἀνέγνωτε ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς, Mt 21,42a. In *scripturis* ist möglicherweise haplographisch nach *legistis* ausgefallen. Für eine Auslassung bereits auf der Ebene des irenäischen Textes gibt es aufgrund des hohen Stellenwerts der „Schriften“ für den Bischof kein Motiv, s. dazu Bernhard Mutschler, *Das Corpus Johanneum bei Irenäus von Lyon. Studien und Kommentar zum dritten Buch von Adversus Haereses*, WUNT 189 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2006), 16 Anm. 7.

**14** Vgl. Haer. IV 36,1 (Rousseau, *Contre les hérésies*, 878,21; 879,24) mit Mt 21,42a.

**15** Haer. IV 36,5 (Rousseau, *Contre les hérésies*, 894,150–898,173; Mt 22,1–14) mit 187 gegenüber 173 Worten.

- Er „pflanzte einen Weinberg und umgab ihn mit einem Zaun; er grub darin eine Kelter und baute einen Turm. Er verpachtete ihn an Winzer und machte sich auf eine Reise nach auswärts“.<sup>16</sup> Für Irenäus bedeutet dies: Auch wenn Gott nicht sichtbar ist in der Welt, unterliegt es keinem Zweifel, dass er alles geschaffen und eingerichtet hat. Kein anderer ist Schöpfer als der eine und selbe Gott.
- Er „schickte seine Knechte“, „da schickte er noch einmal andere Knechte, mehr als zuerst“, „zuletzt schickte er seinen einzigen Sohn zu ihnen und sagte sich: Vor meinem Sohn haben sie vielleicht doch Respekt“.<sup>17</sup> Für Irenäus bedeutet dies: Alle Propheten wurden zu verschiedenen Zeiten „vom einen und selben (Gott und) Vater“ (*ab uno et eodem patre*) gesandt.<sup>18</sup> Kein anderer hat den Sohn gesandt als derjenige, der bereits die Propheten gesandt hatte.
- Er „wird die Übeltäter übel ruinieren und seinen Weinberg anderen Winzern verpachten, die ihm zur rechten Zeit die Früchte abliefern“.<sup>19</sup> Für Irenäus bedeutet dies die Ankündigung eines Gerichtes für alle diejenigen, die den Schöpfer und Besitzer des Weinbergs nicht respektieren, seinen Willen nicht achten und nicht „zur rechten Zeit die Früchte abliefern“. Kein anderer vollzieht also das Gericht als derjenige, der den Weinberg angelegt, die Welt geschaffen, die Propheten und seinen Sohn gesandt hat.
- Schließlich wird auch die Verwerfung und Kreuzigung Christi sowie seine anschließende Einsetzung in eine machtvolle Stellung in der Gleichniserzählung bereits angekündigt: „Den Stein, den die Bauleute verworfen haben, der ist zum Eckstein geworden; vom Herrn ist dies geschehen und ist ein Wunder vor unseren Augen“, Psalm 118,22f.<sup>20</sup> Für Irenäus bedeutet dies: Das Handeln Gottes in Christus steht in einer langen Kontinuität, die von alttestamentlichen Texten und Zeiten bis in die Gegenwart reicht. Kein anderer hat den zuvor verworfenen Sohn verherrlicht als derjenige, der bereits in Propheten und Psalmen gesprochen und diesen Weg vorausgezeichnet hatte. An

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**16** Haer. IV 36,1 (Rousseau, *Contre les hérésies*, 876,5–878,8; Übersetzung: Brox, *Gegen die Häresien IV*, 297).

**17** Ebd. (Rousseau, *Contre les hérésies*, 878,9,12f.12–15; Übersetzung: Brox, *Gegen die Häresien IV*, 297).

**18** Haer. IV 36,5 (Rousseau, *Contre les hérésies*, 876,3), ἀφ' ἐνὸς καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ πατρὸς, ebd. (Rousseau, *Contre les hérésies*, 877,3f).

**19** Haer. IV 36,1 (Rousseau, *Contre les hérésies*, 878,19–21; Übersetzung: Brox, *Gegen die Häresien IV*, 297).

**20** Ebd. (Rousseau, *Contre les hérésies*, 878,22–880,24; Übersetzung: Brox, *Gegen die Häresien IV*, 297).

dieser Stelle schließt sich der kleinasiatische Theologe an das matthäische Modell von Verheißung und Erfüllung an.

Durch den nachfolgenden Kontext bindet Irenäus das überlange Zitat in seine Argumentation erneut ein. Das (a) Wirken Gottes in den „Knechten“ alias Propheten einerseits und in seinem Sohn andererseits, (b) seine Einheit und Selbigkeit als „Vater“ und (c) seine Eigenschaft als Schöpfer der gesamten Schöpfung werden hier erneut in den Mittelpunkt gerückt. Diese drei Punkte rahmen das Zitat durch eine *inclusio*.<sup>21</sup> Darüber hinaus werden im nachfolgenden Kontext (d) die Verschiedenheit der Winzer und (e) die Bedeutung der Früchte hervorgehoben.<sup>22</sup> Dadurch erfahren Verantwortung und Gehorsam der Menschen eine besondere Akzentuierung. All dies – Winzer, Früchte, Verantwortung und Gehorsam – weist zwar vordergründig auf die Ereignisse bis zur Passion Jesu,<sup>23</sup> zugleich aber darüber hinaus in die Gegenwart der theologischen Auseinandersetzung am Ende des zweiten Jahrhunderts. Auch jetzt geht es um die Akzeptanz des heilsgeschichtlichen Handelns des einen und selben Gottes und um angemessene Konsequenzen daraus, im Bild gesprochen: um das Verhalten von Winzern und um Früchte.

## 1.2 Der Zusammenhang von Haer. IV 35,4 bis 36,2

Im weiteren Kontext folgt eine längere und detaillierte Allegorese der Gleichniserzählung von den bösen Weingärtnern, die mehrfach mit wörtlichen Bezugnahmen auf alttestamentliche Propheten angereichert ist und hier nicht näher beleuchtet wird.<sup>24</sup> Abschließend fasst Irenäus daraufhin die wichtigsten Punkte noch einmal zusammen und hält Folgendes als „Ertrag“ fest: „Es ist also ein und derselbe Gott Vater, der den Weinberg angepflanzt hat, das Volk herausgeführt, die Propheten geschickt, seinen Sohn gesandt und den Weinberg anderen Win-

<sup>21</sup> Die Reihenfolge der drei Teilaussagen variiert, vgl. Haer. IV 36,1 (Rousseau, *Contre les hérésies*, 876,1f.2f.4f, entspricht a-b-c) mit ebd., (880,27–29.29.33f.36–39, entspricht b-c-a-a).

<sup>22</sup> Haer. IV 36,1 (Rousseau, *Contre les hérésies*, 880,29 f.30–33; 880,35.35f); die Anordnung ist in beiden Fällen parallel (entspricht d-e).

<sup>23</sup> Haer. IV 36,1 (Rousseau, *Contre les hérésies*, 880,30f.35f).

<sup>24</sup> Haer. IV 36,2 (Rousseau, *Contre les hérésies*, 882,45–886,86), s. John S. Kloppenborg, *The Tenants of the Vineyard. Ideology, Economics, and Agrarian Conflict in Jewish Palestine*, WUNT 195 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006), 22f; Dwight J. Bingham, *Irenaeus' Use of Matthew's Gospel in Adversus Haereses*, *Tratado Exegetica Graeca 7* (Leuven-Louvain: Peeters 1998), 230f; zum größeren Kontext s. ebd., 228–245; Antonio Orbe, *Parábolas evangélicas en San Ireneo. 2 Bde* (Madrid: La Editorial Católica, 1972), 226–270.

zern gegeben hat, die zur gegebenen Zeit Früchte abliefern.<sup>25</sup> Dieses Fazit einer längeren Auseinandersetzung mit Mt 21,33b–43 steht keineswegs isoliert, sondern korrespondiert genau mit dem Schlussabschnitt von Haer. IV 35,4, der dem eingangs zitierten Text (Haer. IV 36,1) unmittelbar vorausgeht: „Wir kennen den einen Gott, den Schöpfer des Weltalls, der die Propheten gesandt hat, das Volk aus dem Land Ägypten herausgeführt und in den letzten Zeiten seinen Sohn offenbar gemacht hat, damit er die Ungläubigen verwirre und nach der Frucht der Gerechtigkeit ausschaute.“<sup>26</sup> An der in beiden Abschnitten erkennbaren *inclusio* lässt sich Punkt für Punkt ein siebenteiliges theologisches Basisgerüst entdecken, das gleichzeitig Prämissen und Ertrag von Irenäus' Beschäftigung mit Mt 21,33b–43 darstellt:

*Theologische Prämissen (IV 35,4)*

Wir kennen

- (1) den einen Gott,
- (2) den Schöpfer des Weltalls
- (3) der die Propheten gesandt hat,
- (4) das Volk aus dem Land Ägypten heraus- >< führt
- (5) und in den letzten Zeiten seinen Sohn
- (6) damit er die Ungläubigen verwirre
- (7) und nach der reifen Frucht der Gerechtigkeit ausschaute.

*Theologischer Ertrag (IV 36,2)*

Es ist also

- (1) ein und derselbe Gott Vater,
- (2) der den Weinberg angepflanzt hat
- (3) das Volk herausgeführt,
- (4) die Propheten geschickt,
- (5) seinen Sohn gesandt offenbar gemacht hat,
- (6) und den Weinberg anderen Winzern gegeben hat,
- (7) die zur gegebenen Zeit Früchte abliefern.

Die exakte Gegenüberstellung der beiden Abschnitte zeigt, wie deutlich diese beiden äußeren Rahmenstücke als *inclusio* aufeinander bezogen sind.<sup>27</sup> Lediglich die Unterpunkte drei und vier – Exodus und Prophetie – sind vertauscht: In Haer. IV 35,4 wird die Sendung der Propheten unmittelbar an die Schöpfungsaussage angeschlossen, während sie in IV 36,2 der Sendung des Sohnes direkt vorausgeht und dadurch die Parallelität des Sendens demonstriert (zumal dieses – anders als in der verwendeten Übersetzung – in beiden Fällen durch ein gleich lautendes *misit* formuliert wird).

Weitere nennenswerte Unterschiede im Kleinen sind: (1) Haer. IV 35,4 ist in der Art einer persönlichen Gewissheit – um nicht zu sagen: eines gemeinschaft-

<sup>25</sup> Haer. IV 36,2 (Rousseau, *Contre les hérésies*, 886,86–888,90; Übersetzung: Brox, *Gegen die Häresien IV*, 301.303).

<sup>26</sup> Haer. IV 35,4 (Rousseau, *Contre les hérésies*, 876,115–119; Übersetzung: Brox, *Gegen die Häresien IV*, 295).

<sup>27</sup> Haer. IV 35,4 (Rousseau, *Contre les hérésies*, 876,115–119) und 36,2 (886,86–888,90).

lichen Bekenntnisses<sup>28</sup> – formuliert (*scientes*, „wir kennen“), während IV 36,2 als Ergebnis einer Beweisführung eingeleitet wird (*ergo*, „[Es ist] also“). (2) Dementsprechend ist in IV 35,4 von der „Offenbarung“ des Sohnes die Rede (*manifestavit*), während er in 36,2 „gesandt“ wird (Parallelität von *misit*). (3) Während in 36,2 im Anschluss an die Betrachtung von Mt 21,33b–43 mit „Weinberg“ und „Winzer“ an zwei Stellen Begriffe aus der Bildsprache dieses Gleichnisses aufgenommen werden, werden in 35,4 die stärker theologisierten Bezeichnungen „Schöpfung“ und „Ungläubige“ verwendet.<sup>29</sup> (4) Dementsprechend ist in Haer. IV 36,2 von „Früchten abliefern“ im Plural und von „der gegebenen Zeit“ die Rede, während in 35,4 der Ausdruck „Frucht der Gerechtigkeit“ benutzt wird und eine Zeitangabe mit der Offenbarung des Sohnes verknüpft ist: „in den letzten Zeiten“.<sup>30</sup> (5) Der Exodus bildet die mittlere Aussage des Bekenntnisses Haer. IV 35,4, obgleich er im darauf folgenden Abschnitt nicht vorkommt; in 36,2 ist dieser Punkt heilsgeschichtlich genauer zwischen Schöpfung und Prophetie eingeordnet.

Folgende Gesamtkomposition der Auseinandersetzung mit dem Gleichnis von den bösen Weingärtnern kann nun in den Blick genommen werden:

A	Sieben theologische Prämissen	Haer. IV 35,4
B	Einleitung in das Zitat, dreifache Leseanweisung (a-b-c)	36,1
C	Wörtliches Zitat von Mt 21,33b–43	
B'	Dreifacher theologischer Ertrag (b-c-a-a) und heilsgeschichtliche Vertiefung (Winzer, Früchte) <sup>31</sup>	
C'	Allegorese von Mt 21,33b–43	36,2
A'	Sieben theologische Ergebnisse	

**28** „Wobei wir über dieselben Worte alle immer dasselbe sagen“, *de eisdem semper eadem dicimus omnes*, Haer. IV 35,4 (Rousseau, *Contre les hérésies*, 876,115). Die bischöfliche Auslegung nimmt also maximale Kohärenz, maximale Konsistenz und maximale Übereinstimmung innerhalb von Gemeinde(n) und Kirche für sich in Anspruch.

**29** Zur Vorstellung von Pistis bei Irenäus s. knapp Bernhard Mutschler, *Pistis und Gnosis. Drei Verhältnisbestimmungen im zweiten Jahrhundert: Justin, Irenäus, Klemens*, in *Erkennen und Erleben. Beiträge zur psychologischen Erforschung des frühen Christentums*, Hg. Gerd Theißen und Petra von Gemünden (Gütersloh: Gütersloher/Random 2007): 346 f.

**30** Zu *in novissimis temporibus* s. ausführlich Bernhard Mutschler, Irenäus als johanneischer Theologe. Studien zur Schriftauslegung bei Irenäus von Lyon, in *Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum/Studies and Texts in Antiquity and Christianity 21* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2004), 123–125.

**31** Der letzte Satz dieses Teils wird bereits als Haer. IV 36,2 (Rousseau, *Contre les hérésies*, 882,40–44) gezählt.

Das lange wörtliche Zitat aus Mt 21 (Teil C) ist doppelt gerahmt (B/B', A/A'). Innerhalb seines inneren Rahmens (B/B') spricht das Evangelienzitat aufgrund der im Rahmen gesetzten Vorzeichen bereits von sich aus im Sinn von Irenäus. An diesen inneren Rahmen schließt sich dann allerdings eine ausführliche Allegorese des Zitats an,<sup>32</sup> in der Mt 21 Zug um Zug auf die Heilsgeschichte appliziert wird. Im äußeren Rahmen (A/A') wird ein siebenteiliges theologisches Basisgerüst als Prämissen bzw. Ergebnisse der Auslegung des Gleichnisses von den bösen Weingärtnern entfaltet. Verständlicherweise ist dabei der hintere Rahmenteil (A') stärker von der Sprache des Gleichnisses geprägt als der vordere (A). In dieser Rahmung liegt eine gut durchdachte, weitgehend spiegelbildliche Komposition mit einer klaren theologischen Ausrichtung vor. Zu ergänzen bleibt, dass das Gleichnis nur hier und an keiner anderen Stelle im Werk des Irenäus aufgenommen wird.

### 1.3 Fazit

Was zeigt das Beispiel insgesamt? Wie in einer Miniatur (einer gewichtigen freilich) wurde für Irenäus' Umgang mit den Evangelien deutlich: Er greift geschickt, genau und zielstrebig auf einen Evangelientext zurück und zitiert diesen ausführlich und wörtlich. Er schreibt ihn dabei dem „Herrn“, d. h. Jesus Christus, zu. Dadurch erhält der Text eine sehr hohe Autorität, eine begründende Funktion und einen kaum zu überschätzenden Stellenwert innerhalb der Argumentation.

Durch Rahmungen werden die Vorzeichen des Textverständnisses für die Leser- oder Hörschaft so präzise bestimmt, dass eine eigentliche Auslegung entbehrlich wäre. Bereits durch Einleitung und Verlauf erhält das Zitat eine die irenäische Aussageabsicht unterstützende Richtung, so dass es durchgängig in seinem Sinne spricht. Dennoch fügt der kleinasiatische Theologe eine Auslegung in Form einer seine Theologoumena bestätigenden Allegorese an. Was er durch Rückgriff auf den Evangelientext zeigen möchte, wird dadurch zum zweiten Mal unmittelbar einleuchtend. Wie sehr systematisch-theologische Prämissen und eine konsequente Ausrichtung am aktuellen kontrovertheologischen Problemstand die Darstellung beeinflussen, ist daran ersichtlich, dass im äußeren Rahmen die für das Verständnis des Bibeltextes leitenden Gesichtspunkte fast stereotyp bereits am Beginn offengelegt werden und am Ende wiederkehren. Der

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<sup>32</sup> Haer. IV 36,2 (Rousseau, *Contre les hérésies*, 882,45–886,86) ist mit 42 gegenüber 23 Zeilen fast doppelt so lang wie das Zitat aus Mt 21,33b–43 in Haer. IV 36,1 (Rousseau, *Contre les hérésies*, 876,5–880,26).

Rekurs auf den Bibeltext hat also *demonstrativen* Charakter und entbehrt von Anfang an eines offenen Endes. Auf diese Weise rezipiert Irenäus „den Herrn“ literarisch und theologisch im Blick auf die Situation am Ende des zweiten Jahrhunderts der Zeitrechnung.

Gleichwohl bleiben die Geschlossenheit der theologischen Argumentation, die Überlegenheit des biblischen und exegetischen Zugriffs und die Sorgfalt der Gesamtkomposition beeindruckend. Der Kyrios Christos selbst wird als Kronzeuge gegen gnostische theologische Basisannahmen und ihre Vertreter ins Feld geführt. Er selbst greift dadurch aktiv in die zeitgenössische Grundsatzdebatte ein und gibt für Leser- und Hörerschaft eine klare Richtung vor. In diesem Sinn ist der gesamten Bezugnahme als hermeneutischer und theologischer Grundsatz vorangestellt: „Wir dagegen folgen dem einzigen und allein wahren Herrn als unserem Lehrer und besitzen als Richtschnur der Wahrheit seine Worte, wobei wir über dieselben Worte alle immer dasselbe sagen.“<sup>33</sup>

Hermeneutik, Christologie, Ekklesiologie und der exegetische Zugriff des Irenäus sind ganz und gar an diesem schriftgestützten, theologisch prägnanten, deutlich idealisierten und bis zu einem gewissen Grad experimentellen Grundsatz ausgerichtet. Wie steht es dementsprechend um die Hintergründe dieser Evangelienrezeption, um Irenäus' Grundwissen und Grundvoraussetzungen im Blick auf die vier Evangelien?

## 2 Grundwissen und Grundvoraussetzungen im Blick auf die vier Evangelien

Dass genau vier Evangelien zu respektieren sind, steht für Irenäus unumstößlich fest. Welches Grundwissen pflegt der Bischof dazu, und welche Grundvoraussetzungen macht er im Blick auf die vier Evangelien? Nacheinander werden (1) der Vierevangelienverbund, (2) die variable Reihenfolge der Evangelien und (3) die literarhistorischen Basisannahmen über diese Evangelien vorgestellt.

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**33** Haer. IV 35,4 (Rousseau, *Contre les hérésies*, 874,111–876,115; Übersetzung: Brox, *Gegen die Häresien IV*, 295). Hermeneutische Fragen zu Irenäus sind bisher oft zu wenig im Blick, wie zuletzt eine Leerstelle bei Oda Wischmeyer zeigt. Vgl. Oda Wischmeyer, „Handbuch der Bibelhermeneutiken. Von Origenes bis zur Gegenwart“, Hg. Oda Wischmeyer, Eve-Marie Becker, Mark W. Elliott, Hans-Peter Großhans, Leonhard Hell, Karla Pollmann, Thomas Prügl, Marianne Schröter, Anselm Schubert (Berlin/Boston, CT: De Gruyter) 2016.



## 2.1 Der Vierevangelienverbund. Nicht mehr und nicht weniger Evangelien

Für Irenäus steht die Gesamtzahl der vier Evangelien unumstößlich fest. Sie umfasst genau vier und ist weder größer noch kleiner.<sup>34</sup> In Haer. III 11,7f werden dafür nacheinander (1) sieben verschiedene Argumente angeführt,<sup>35</sup> die wir kurz betrachten, ehe (2) Voraussetzungen, Gang und Ergebnis der Argumentation mit etwas größerem Abstand rekapituliert werden.

Vorweg möchte ich eine begriffliche Konvention hinterfragen: Irenäus spricht nicht von einem festgefügtten „Vierevangelienkanon“. Dieser Begriff ist freilich in der Sekundärliteratur seit langem gebräuchlich. Würde Irenäus einen solchen „Kanon“ nicht als Argument anführen, wenn er ihn vorliegen hätte und sich seiner Existenz bewusst wäre? Würde er in diesem Zusammenhang nicht auf große Orte der Traditionssicherung und Traditionsbewahrung verweisen, wenn er auf einen Vierevangelienkanon zurückgreifen könnte? Umgekehrt gefragt: Zeigt nicht gerade die weitschweifige und durchaus kreative Argumentation zu Gunsten der vier Evangelien, dass es bisher zwar eine solche Konvention, nicht aber einen solchen Kanon gibt?<sup>36</sup> Ich spreche daher im Blick auf Irenäus vorsichtiger von einem Vierevangelienverbund (oder von einer Vierevangelienkonvention) anstatt von einem Vierevangelienkanon.<sup>37</sup> Wie lauten die Argumente des Irenäus für diesen Verbund?

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34 Vgl. die inclusio um Abschnitt Haer. III 11,8 (Rousseau, *Contre les hérésies*, 270,237–242) sowie eine entsprechende Rekapitulation am Ende von 11,9 (Rousseau, *Contre les hérésies*, 174,272–275).

35 Zur Einführung in Haer. III 11,7–9 s. B. Mutschler, *Corpus Johanneum* (Anm. 13), 42.

36 Vgl. bereits Hans von Campenhausen, *Die Entstehung der christlichen Bibel*, BHT 39 (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck) 2003), 204 im Blick auf die frühen Kodizes: „diese Codices waren – soweit wir sehen können – zunächst noch klein und kaum geeignet, gleich vier Evangelien in einem Band zu vereinen und damit eine ‚kanonische‘ Ordnung zu begründen.“ Er zieht allerdings keine terminologischen Konsequenzen aus dieser Beobachtung.

37 In ähnlicher Weise spricht Martin Hengel, *Die vier Evangelien und das eine Evangelium von Jesus Christus. Studien zu ihrer Sammlung und Entstehung*, WUNT 224 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 15 davon, dass Irenäus „so etwas wie einen ‚Kanon‘“ hatte; ders., *Der unterschätzte Petrus. Zwei Studien* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006), 72 Anm. 150 spricht von einer „Vierevangelien-sammlung“. Zu Hinweisen auf diese im Laufe des zweiten Jahrhunderts s. Theo K. Heckel, *Vom Evangelium des Markus zum viergestaltigen Evangelium*, WUNT 120 (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck] 1999), bes. 266–355.

### 2.1.1 Sieben Argumente für die Gesamtzahl der vier Evangelien

(1) Nach einer konzisen Durchsicht des Beginns der vier Evangelien auf ihr Gottesverständnis hin (Haer. III 9,1–11,6)<sup>38</sup> formuliert Irenäus vier aus den Evangelienanfängen gewonnene „Grundlehren“, „Grundsätze“ oder „Prinzipien“. Diese *principia evangelii*<sup>39</sup> – wohlgemerkt: nicht etwa *evangeliorum*, sondern *evangelii* – lauten: (a) Ein Gott ist Schöpfer des Weltalls; (b) dieser wurde durch die Propheten verkündigt, (c) hat durch Mose das Gesetz gegeben und (d) ist der Vater „unseres Herrn Jesus Christus“.<sup>40</sup> Im Grunde entspricht dies den ersten fünf der vorhin betrachteten theologischen Prämissen in Haer. IV 35,4 bzw. des theologischen Ertrags in Haer. IV 36,2.<sup>41</sup> Diese vier „Grundlehren“ verdanken sich einer Auslegung des Evangelienbeginns aller vier Evangelien und führen eher implizit auf die Zahl vier hin.

(2) Sogar die „Abweichler“ – Irenäus nennt sie ohne Umstände „Häretiker“ – bezeugen selbst Relevanz, Validität und Zuverlässigkeit der Evangelien.<sup>42</sup> Denn sie stützen sich selbst darauf, wenngleich dies für Irenäus durchweg missbräuchlich und gewissermaßen pervertiert geschieht. Zu diesem Zweck verweist der Theologe zu Gunsten des Matthäusevangeliums auf Ebionäer, zu Gunsten des Lukasevangeliums auf Markion, zu Gunsten des Markusevangeliums auf jene Menschen, die einen leidensfähigen Jesus von einem nicht leidensfähigen Christus trennen, und zu Gunsten des Johannesevangeliums auf Valentinianer. Zu allen vier Gruppen bietet der Bischof jeweils bestimmte Informationen, die folgendermaßen systematisiert werden können:<sup>43</sup>

<sup>38</sup> S. zu Mt Haer. III 9, zu Lk Haer. III 10,1–5, zu Mk Haer. III 10,6 und zu Joh Haer. III 11,1–6. Zu Abgrenzung, Charakter und Verlauf des Abschnitts s. B. Mutschler, *Corpus Johanneum* (Anm. 13), 34–42. In Haer. III 9–11,6 zeigt Irenäus durchgängig, „dass die vier Evangelisten den einen und selben Gott wie das Gesetz und die Propheten bekennen und bezeugen“, so B. Mutschler, Irenäus (Anm. 30), 217.

<sup>39</sup> Haer. III 11,7 (Rousseau, *Contre les hérésies*, 158,150). *Principia* hat „einen doppelten semantischen Charakter“, nämlich „Beginn und Grundlehren“, s. ausführlich B. Mutschler, *Corpus Johanneum* (Anm. 13), 37 Anm. 143. Der Ausdruck *principia evangelii* wird variiert und als inclusio rekapituliert durch *evangelium ex ipsis principiis ipsorum*, Haer. III 11,9 (Rousseau, *Contre les hérésies*, 174,279).

<sup>40</sup> Vgl. Haer. III 11,7 (Rousseau, *Contre les hérésies*, 158,150–155; 153f).

<sup>41</sup> Die Einheit Gottes und sein Schöpfersein werden dort als zwei Punkte gezählt.

<sup>42</sup> *Ipsi haeretici* und *firmitas*, Haer. III 11,7 (Rousseau, *Contre les hérésies*, 158,156), s. auch *confirmare* sowie *firma et vera est nostra de illis ostensia*, ebd. (Rousseau, *Contre les hérésies*, 158,158; 160,173f), als inclusio.

<sup>43</sup> Die Übersicht enthält den lückenlosen Text aus Haer. III 11,7 (Rousseau, *Contre les hérésies*, 158,158–160,171); s. ausführlich B. Mutschler, *Corpus Johanneum* (Anm. 13), 251f.

Evangelium/ Gruppierung	Matthäus	Lukas	Markus	Johannes
<b>Bezeichnung der Häretiker</b>	<i>Ebionaei etenim</i>	<i>Marcion autem</i>	<i>Qui autem ... dicunt</i>	<i>Hi autem qui a Valentino sunt</i>
<b>Bezeichnung des Evangeliums</b>	<i>eo Evangelio quod est secundum Matthaeum</i>	<i>id quod est secundum Lucam</i>	<i>id quod secundum Marcum est (praeferentes, s. u.) Evangelium</i>	<i>eo quod est secundum Iohannem</i>
<b>Verhältnis der Häretiker zum Evangelium</b>	<i>solo utentes</i>	<i>circumcidens</i>	<i>praeferentes (s. o.)</i>	<i>plenissime utentes</i>
<b>Anwendungsbereich des Evangeliums</b>	<i>(de Domino; s. u.)</i>	<i>(in solum existentem Deum; s. u.)</i>	<i>Iesum separant a Christo et impassibilem perseverasse Christum, passum vero Iesum</i>	<i>ad ostensionem coniugationum suarum</i>
<b>Widerlegung aus demselben Evangelium</b>	<i>ex illo ipso convincuntur</i>	<i>ex his quae adhuc servantur penes eum (...; s. u.) ostenditur</i>	<i>cum amore veritatis legentes (illud, s. u.) corrigi possunt</i>	<i>ex ipso deteguntur</i>
<b>Widerlegungsbereich</b>	<i>non recte praesumentes de Domino (s. o.)</i>	<i>blasphemus in solum existentem Deum (s. o.)</i>	<i>illud (s. o.)</i>	<i>nihil recte dicentes</i>

Im Einzelnen führt Irenäus aus:

In der Tat benutzen die Ebionäer das Evangelium nach Matthäus und nur dieses, wobei ihnen aber gerade aus diesem Evangelium nachgewiesen wird, dass sie falsche Annahmen über Gott machen.

Markion schneidet am Lukasevangelium herum; was bei ihm davon noch beibehalten wird, zeigt ihn als Lästere gegen den allein existierenden Gott.

Diejenigen aber, die Jesus von Christus trennen und sagen, Christus habe nicht leiden können, sondern Jesus sei es gewesen, der gelitten habe, bevorzugen das Evangelium nach Markus, und wenn sie es mit Liebe zur Wahrheit lesen, können sie auf den rechten Weg gebracht werden.

Diese aber, die von Valentin herkommen, verwenden zum Beweis ihrer Syzygien aufs häufigste dasjenige (sc. Evangelium), das nach Johannes ist; gerade aus ihm werden sie widerlegt werden, dass sie nichts richtig sagen.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>44</sup> Haer. III 11,7 (Rousseau, Contre les hérésies, 158,158–160,171; Übersetzung: Brox, Gegen die Häresien III, 109), zum Abschnitt über die Valentinianer: B. Mutschler, Corpus Johanneum

Auffälligerweise ist das Tun der „Häretiker“ fast durchgängig grammatisch als Partizip formuliert,<sup>45</sup> während Irenäus' kritische Haltung im Hauptverb Ausdruck findet. Seine Gegner geraten dabei buchstäblich in eine passive Rolle: Ihnen „wird nachgewiesen“, „es wird bewahrt“ bzw. „gezeigt“, „sie können zurechtgebracht werden“, „sie werden widerlegt werden“ (*convincuntur, servantur, ostenditur, corrigi possunt, deteguntur*).<sup>46</sup> Trotz allem bestätigen die vier Gruppen dadurch indirekt Gültigkeit, Tragfähigkeit und Zuverlässigkeit der vier Evangelien.

(3) Ein weiteres Argument für die Vierzahl der Evangelien sind die vier Weltgegenden,<sup>47</sup> die vier Hauptwindrichtungen (*spiritūs, πνεύματα*) sowie die Tatsache, dass die Kirche bereits über die ganze Erde verteilt ist. Gestützt werde sie durch „das Evangelium“ als „Säule“ und den „Geist des Lebens“.<sup>48</sup> Bereits diese Semantik bringt den überaus hohen Stellenwert des Evangeliums für Irenäus zum Ausdruck. Unterstützt wird dies durch eine Verklammerung mit dem Beginn von Haer. III 1,1, und zwar mit Hilfe einer nur an diesen beiden Stellen erfolgenden Anspielung auf 1 Tim 3,15.<sup>49</sup> Über die Verwandtschaft von „Wind“ und „Geist“ spielt Irenäus mit der Semantik von *spiritus* bzw. *πνεῦμα*. Konsequenterweise habe die Kirche „vier Säulen, die von allen Seiten Unvergänglichkeit atmen und die Menschen immer neu beleben“.<sup>50</sup> Im Wechselspiel von der einen

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(Anm. 13), 253. Zu den Ebionäern s. bereits Haer. I 26,2, zu Markion s. I 27,2–4 sowie III 12,12, zur Apathie Christi s. I 26,1 (Kerinth). Für die Valentinianer schließlich verweist Irenäus selbst durch *quemadmodum ostendimus in primo libro*, Haer. III 11,7 (Rousseau, *Contre les hérésies*, 160,171 f), auf Haer. I 8,5–9,3.

45 S. Haer. III 11,7 (Rousseau, *Contre les hérésies*, 158,160.163.164; 160,168.170).

46 Eine Ausnahme bildet *separant*, Haer. III 11,7 (Rousseau, *Contre les hérésies*, 158,164), wodurch Verantwortung und Aktivität (und Schuld) deutlich werden: „Sie trennen Jesus von Christus“.

47 In der „Weltenzahl Vier“ erblickte „seit Urzeiten die Menschheit Ordnung und Maß der Erde und des Kosmos“, so Margarethe und Heinrich Schmidt, *Die vergessene Bildersprache christlicher Kunst. Ein Führer zum Verständnis der Tier-, Engel- und Mariensymbolik* (München: Beck 2007), 170.

48 In den Begriffen „Säule und Stütze der Gemeinde“ (*columna autem et firmamentum ecclesiae*, στῦλος δὲ καὶ στήριγμα ἐκκλησίας) sowie „Leben“, Haer. III 11,8 (Rousseau, *Contre les hérésies*, 160,179 f; 161,174), liegt – wie in vielen Editionen vermerkt – eine Anspielung auf (zumindest jedoch sprachlicher Einfluss von) ἐκκλησία θεοῦ ζῶντος, στῦλος καὶ ἑδραίωμα, 1 Tim 3,15, vor.

49 *Postea vero per Dei voluntatem in scripturis nobis tradiderunt, fundamentum et columnam fidei nostri futurum*, Haer. III 1,1 (Rousseau, *Contre les hérésies*, 20,4–6). Rolf Noormann, Irenäus als Paulusinterpret. Zur Rezeption und Wirkung der paulinischen und deuteropaulinischen Briefe im Werk des Irenäus von Lyon, WUNT II 66 (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck] 1994)1, 111 Anm. 9 lehnt eine Bezugnahme auf 1 Tim 3,15 für beide Stellen ab.

50 Haer. III 11,8 (Rousseau, *Contre les hérésies*, 160,175–162,182; 181 f). Im Unterschied dazu wird in Gal 2,9 mit nur drei Säulen argumentiert.

Säule und den vier Säulen sowie von dem einen Geist und den vier Winden spiegelt sich das eine Evangelium in seinen vier Ausgaben wider.

(4) Auf dieses Argument aus Zahlensymbolik, geographischem Traditionswissen und weltweiter Verbreitung der Kirche folgt ein schriftgestütztes Argument ausgehend von Ps 80,2: Der „über den Keruben thronende“ Schöpfer-Logos habe bei seinem Erscheinen „das viergestaltige Evangelium, das von *einem* Geist zusammengehalten wird“, gegeben: *quadriforme evangelium, quod uno spiritu continetur*, τετράμορφον τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, ἐνὶ δὲ Πνεύματι συνεχόμενον.<sup>51</sup> Irenäus identifiziert die Viergestaltigkeit der Keruben mit den vier in Apk 4,7 genannten Lebewesen Löwe, Stier, Mensch und Adler.<sup>52</sup> Deren Gestalten seien „Abbilder der Heilsordnung des Sohnes Gottes“.<sup>53</sup> Daher werden sie mit Charakteristika des Gottessohnes verknüpft, die aus den vier Evangelien geschöpft sind. Zwar verbindet Irenäus die Wesen des Gottesthrones hier nicht direkt mit Evangelien, aber die aufgezeigten Charakteristika sind so gewählt, dass die Grundlagen für Verbindungen mit den Evangelien gelegt sind: Der Löwe habe eine „königliche Art“, der Stier verweise auf Priester und Opfer, der Mensch auf das Kommen als Mensch und der Adler auf den Geist, „der auf die Kirche zufliegt.“<sup>54</sup> Wesenscharakteristik

51 Haer. III 11,8 (Rousseau, *Contre les hérésies*, 162,185 f). Auch im Muratorischen Fragment 19 f werden die Evangelien pneumatologisch integriert: *cum uno ac principali spiritu declarata sint in omnibus omnia* (Text zitiert nach: Hans Lietzmann, *Das Muratorische Fragment und die monarchianischen Prologe zu den Evangelien*, Kleine Texte 1 [A. Marcus und E. Weber's Verlag, Bonn, 1902], 5,14 f; Übersetzung: Christoph Marksches, *Antike christliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung*, 7. Auflage der von Edgar Hennecke begründeten und von Wilhelm Schneemelcher fortgeführten Sammlung der neutestamentlichen Apokryphen. Bd. I: *Evangelien und Verwandtes*. Teilband 1, hg. Christoph Marksches, Jens Schröter und Andreas Heiser [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2012. Teilband 2. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2012], 119).

52 Einen Überblick über Darstellungstypen in der christlichen Kunst geben M. und H. Schmidt, *Bildersprache* (Anm. 47), 160 – 167; ebd. 34 – 40.78 – 86 zu Adler und Löwe.

53 *Formae ipsorum imagines sunt dispositionis filii Dei*, Haer. III 11,8 (Rousseau, *Contre les hérésies*, 162,189).

54 Haer. III 11,8 (Rousseau, *Contre les hérésies*, 162,190 – 164,196), s. ausführlich B. Mutschler, *Corpus Johanneum* (Anm. 13), 257 – 264. Demgegenüber wird in der Presbyterüberlieferung, die Klemens von Alexandrien in seinen Hypotyposen bewahrt, das Johannesevangelium als „geistiges Evangelium“ (πνευματικὸν εὐαγγέλιον) bezeichnet, s. Eus., H.e. VI 14,7 (Text zitiert nach: Eduard Schwartz und Theodor Mommsen, *Eusebius Werke*. Zweiter Band: *Die Kirchengeschichte*. (GCS 9,1–3). Zweite, unveränderte Auflage von Friedhelm Winkelmann (GCS N.F. 6,1–3). 3 Bde. Berlin 1999 (Nachdruck der Ausgabe Leipzig 1903/1908/1909), GCS Eusebius II/2, 550,25 – 28; Übersetzung: Heinrich Kraft, *Kirchengeschichte*. Herausgegeben und eingeleitet von Heinrich Kraft [übersetzt von Philipp Haeuser, neu durchgesehen von Hans Armin Gärtner] (Darmstadt 1989, Nachdruck der Auflage München: Kösel 1967), 289.

und Zahlensymbolik werden hier mit Erscheinungen des Sohnes Gottes zusammengeführt.

(5) Erst im nächsten Schritt wird festgestellt, dass „die Evangelien mit diesen Wesen (sc. den Keruben mit ihren Gesichtern)“ übereinstimmen, „auf denen Christus Jesus thron<sup>55</sup>: das Johannesevangelium mit dem Löwen, das Lukasevangelium mit dem Stier, das Matthäusevangelium mit dem Menschen und das Markusevangelium mit dem Adler. Die einzelnen Identifizierungen werden mit Verweis auf die Evangelienanfänge begründet.<sup>56</sup>

(6) Sodann bezieht der Bischof seine Symbolik der Zahl vier auf das Wort Gottes und wendet sie auf die Heilsgeschichte an: Zur Patriarchenzeit habe Gottes Wort göttlich und majestätisch kommuniziert, nach der Übereignung der Mose-tora priesterlich, nach der Menschwerdung schließlich sei der Geist auf die ganze Erde gesandt worden.<sup>57</sup> „Heilsordnung des Sohnes Gottes“, „Gestalt der Lebewesen“ und „die Besonderheit des Evangeliums“ seien insofern anlog<sup>58</sup>: „Die Lebewesen sind nämlich viergestaltig, viergestaltig ist auch das Evangelium und viergestaltig die Heilsordnung des Herrn.“<sup>59</sup>

(7) Auf diese kleine Zwischenbemerkung, die Entsprechungen zu Apk 4,7 verdeutlicht, folgt als letzte Plausibilisierung der Hinweis auf vier Bundesschlüsse im Rahmen der Heilsgeschichte: Adam, Noah, Mose und Christus lauten hier die Stichworte nach der lateinischen Textüberlieferung; nach einer griechischen Tradition werden die ersten beiden Glieder durch Noah und Abraham ersetzt.<sup>60</sup> Von vier Bundesschlüssen spricht Irenäus nur an dieser Stelle.

55 *Et Evangelia igitur his consonantia, in quibus insidet Christus Iesus*, Haer. III 11,8 (Rousseau, Contre les hérésies, 164,197f; Übersetzung: Brox, Gegen die Häresien III, 113).

56 Haer. III 11,8 (Rousseau, Contre les hérésies, 164,198–168,220), s. exemplarisch zum Johannesbezug B. Mutschler, Corpus Johanneum (Anm. 13), 264–270. Zur frühen Geschichte der Evangelistensymbole und ihrer Bildform s. M. und H. Schmidt, Bildersprache, 170–180.

57 Haer. III 11,8 (Rousseau, Contre les hérésies, 168,220–226).

58 Haer. III 11,8 (Rousseau, Contre les hérésies, 168,226–228; Übersetzung: Brox, Gegen die Häresien III, 115).

59 Ebd. (Rousseau, Contre les hérésies, 168,228–230; Übersetzung: Brox, Gegen die Häresien III, 115). Zur Differenzierung von τετράμορφος und τετραπρόσωπος in Haer. III 11,8 (lateinisch jeweils *quadriformis*) s. B. Mutschler, Corpus Johanneum (Anm. 13), 259f; s. auch ebd., 271f.

60 Haer. III 11,8 (Rousseau, Contre les hérésies, 168,230–170,236) mit fr. gr. 11,48–54. Auf Argumente für die lateinische Tradition verweist N. Brox, Gegen die Häresien III (Anm. 3), 115 in Anm. 60 (s. auch ebd. Anm. 59 zu Afrahat: fünf Bundesschlüsse), für die griechische s. den abschließenden Band der Textausgabe von Irénée, Démonstration, 385–388; A. Rousseau zieht dort „une confusion entre les formes Ἀδάμ et Ἀβραάμ“ in Erwägung, ebd., 388. Der „Bund der Beschneidung“ kommt in Haer. III 12,10 (Rousseau, Contre les hérésies, 226,374; Act 7,8); 12,11 (Rousseau, Contre les hérésies, 226,380f); IV 25,1 (Rousseau, Contre les hérésies, 704,4) vor; s. ferner den Hinweis auf die Beschneidung als „Zeichen des Bundes“, 16,1 (Rousseau, Contre les

### 2.1.2 Voraussetzungen, Gang und Ergebnis der Argumentation

Damit lassen sich Voraussetzungen, Gang und Ergebnis der Argumentation zu Gunsten der vier Evangelien überblicken und zusammenfassen:

Relevanz und Gültigkeit von genau vier Evangelien stehen für Irenäus mit großer Selbstverständlichkeit fest. Für diesen Umstand sucht er nach Begründungen. Ein vorausliegender, feststehender „Kanon“, ein Vierevangelienkanon, liegt offenbar nicht vor, sonst würde er sich darauf berufen. Begründungsbedarf ergibt sich aus den antihäretischen Auseinandersetzungen: Einzelne Evangelien werden allzu verschieden gewichtet, verwendet und wertgeschätzt. Für Irenäus ergeben sich daraus zwei Fragen: Wie kann die Begrenzung der Anzahl der relevanten Evangelien auf vier überzeugend begründet werden? Wie können diese vier als eine theologische Einheit erwiesen werden? Beiden Herausforderungen stellt sich der kleinasiatische Theologe in einem eigenständigen Versuch in sieben Schritten.

Zuallererst und als Ergebnis von Haer. III 9,1–11,6 stellt Irenäus (1) eine grundsätzliche theologische (weder historische noch literarische) Übereinstimmung der vier Evangelien in „Grundlehren“ fest, wie sie bereits in den „Anfängen des Evangeliums“ zum Ausdruck kommt (*principia evangelii*). (2) Auch „Häretiker“ bezeugen indirekt Relevanz, Geltung und Gewicht der vier Evangelien, wenn auch im Einzelnen verunglückt und insgesamt wie in einem Zerrspiegel. (3) Die Einteilung der Welt in vier Regionen und vier Winde plausibilisiert das Vorliegen des einen Evangeliums in vier verschiedenen Ausgaben. Die Viergestaltigkeit des Evangeliums sorgt für notwendigen Antrieb in der Kirche – sozusagen für frischen Wind – aus vier verschiedenen Richtungen durch die vier Evangelien. Diese werden als Konkretionen und Entfaltungen des einen Evangeliums verstanden. Das eine Evangelium wird als „Geist des Lebens“ und als „Säule und Stütze der Kirche“ bezeichnet. Warum ist das schriftlich vorliegende Evangelium so grundlegend und wird so hoch geschätzt? Weil im Evangelium bzw. den vier Evangelien die von Irenäus immer wieder als Kardinalzeuge verwendeten „Herrnworte“ zu finden sind.<sup>61</sup> Einheit und Zusammenhalt zwischen den verschiedenen Evangelien werden durch den „einen Geist“ gewährleistet. (4) Von der Einheit zur Vierheit gelangt der Schriftausleger Irenäus mit Hilfe von zwei Schriftstellen: In Ps 79,2 LXX ist vom göttlichen Thronen über den Keruben die Rede, und in der Thronsaalvision in Apk 4 werden um den Thron herum vier Wesen benannt, die einem

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hérésies, 558,6f; Gen 17,11). Der Abrahamsbund wird „als Prolepse“ der mosaischen Gesetzgebung verstanden „und eng mit ihr zusammengerückt“, so R. Noormann, Irenäus (Anm. 49), 394.

<sup>61</sup> Für einen Überblick über die parallele Redeweise vom einen *evangelium* und den vier *evangelia* in Haer. III 9–11 s. B. Mutschler, Corpus Johanneum (Anm. 13), 256 f.



Löwen, einem Stier, einem Menschen und einem fliegenden Adler gleichen. Charakteristika dieser vier Wesen werden nacheinander dreimal in ein Entsprechungsverhältnis gesetzt: zunächst mit Eigenheiten des Wirkens des Sohnes Gottes, danach mit (5) Eigenheiten der vier Evangelien und schließlich mit (6) Eigenheiten der Kommunikation des Wortes Gottes im Laufe der Heilsgeschichte. (7) Zum Schluss werden vier Bundesschlüsse im Verlauf der Heilsgeschichte als weitere Analogie benannt.

Überblickt man diese verschiedenen Begründungsstrategien zu Gunsten der vier Evangelien, dann wirken sie keineswegs rund und versiert, sondern gesucht, gleichsam aus verschiedenen Perspektiven zusammengetragen, insgesamt eher unbeholfen und konstruiert. Deutlich ist, dass Irenäus nicht auf fertige, vollständig durchdachte Begründungen zurückgreifen kann<sup>62</sup> – auch den philosophischen Begriff der „Vierheit“ meidet er<sup>63</sup> –, aber trotzdem möglichst umfassend Sinn und Bedeutung einer Festlegung auf diese vier Evangelien plausibilisieren möchte.<sup>64</sup> Die Divergenz seiner Argumentation legt nahe: Wahrscheinlich greift er seinerseits auf verschiedene Begründungstraditionen zurück, deren Herkunft und Wege heute nicht mehr nachvollziehbar sind.<sup>65</sup> In jedem Fall schließt er sich an eine oder mehrere Tradition(en) von vier bestimmten Evangelien an. Kann man die übereinstimmenden „Grundlehren“ (*principia evangelii*) durchaus als (a) Begründung eines Zusammenhangs der vier Evangelien verstehen, so handelt es sich bei den übrigen Argumenten entweder um (b) Plausibilisierungen (so beim

<sup>62</sup> Eine Konzeption als Tetralogie, wie sie eine Generation später durch Diog. Laert. III 56–60; IX 45–48 für Schriften von Platon oder Demokrit bezeugt ist, kommt offenbar nicht in Frage. Denn die vier Evangelien stammen von verschiedenen Verfassern.

<sup>63</sup> *Quaternatio* (τετράς, τετρακτύς) als „göttliche Grundzahl des Seins“ ist aufgrund seiner Verwendung durch Gegner (Schüler Valentins) diskreditiert, s. M. Hengel, *Evangelien* (Anm. 37), 19 Anm. 50; ebd., 22 Anm. 50. Im Gegensatz dazu spricht Eus., H.e. III 25,1 (Schwartz, *Eusebius Werke* (Anm. 54), 250,21) unbekümmert von der „heiligen Vierzahl der Evangelien“ (τὴν ἁγίαν τῶν εὐαγγελίων τετρακτύν).

<sup>64</sup> Irenäus „begründet die Vierzahl so nachdrücklich, dass sie wohl noch keine Selbstverständlichkeit ist“, so Gerd Theißen, *Die Entstehung des Neuen Testaments als literaturgeschichtliches Problem*, SHAW.PH 40 (Heidelberg, 2007), 283.

<sup>65</sup> Vgl. Theodore C. Skeat, *The Origin of the Christian Codex*; in *The Collected Biblical Writings of T.C. Skeat. Introduced and edited by James K. Elliott*, NT.S 113 (Leiden/Boston 2004), 79–87: „Commentators usually appear to take the view that the arguments put forward by him are his own, but it seems to me much more likely that they reflect reasons adduced when the original decision was taken, since this was when they would have been most needed, whereas by the time of Irenaeus the battle had already been won.“ Im Hintergrund sei eine Krise in der Kirche erkennbar, die durch die Veröffentlichung des Johannesevangelium um 100 n. Chr. aufgetreten sei; erst durch den Vierevangelienverbund im Vierevangelienkodex sei die Verunsicherung (*crisis*, *battle*) bewältigt worden.



Häretikerargument, beim Argument mit Hilfe der Geographie und bei den vier Bundesschlüssen) oder um (c) Entsprechungen im Zusammenhang mit den vier anschaulichen Wesen aus Apk 4,7.<sup>66</sup> Deutlich ist: Die gesamte Argumentation umfasst so viele Aspekte wie irgend möglich. Sie beginnt beim Lehrinhalt der Evangelien und fährt dann fort über das indirekte Zeugnis der verschiedenen Gegner, die aus denselben vier Evangelien schöpfen. Anschließend werden Orte – Erde und Himmel – sowie Zeiten – die Heilsgeschichte – in den Blick genommen. Zwischen beiden wird eine schriftgestützte Argumentation platziert, die einen Halbsatz aus den Psalmen mit einem Satz aus der Johannesapokalypse verbindet. Die Vierzahl der Evangelien wird also bestätigt durch die Übereinstimmung der Evangelien, der Schriften, durch Orte, Zeiten und sogar „Häretiker“. Dringend gefragt sind offenbar Entsprechungen, Entgrenzungen (Universalisierungen) und Entwicklungen von Begründungen oder zumindest Plausibilitätsstrategien für die Vierzahl der Evangelien. Die Argumentation strebt sichtbar in möglichst viele, durchaus verschiedene Richtungen, so dass erkennbar wird: Die Geltung der vier Evangelien ist eine universale, von Befürwortern und Kritikern geteilte, schöpfungs- und heilsgeschichtlich verankerte Grundgegebenheit. Sie ist daher nachgewiesenermaßen als *universale Tatsache* zu begreifen, die von Gott als solche gewollt ist:

„Denn weil Gott alles geordnet und passend gemacht hat, musste auch die Gestalt des Evangeliums sinnvoll geordnet und entsprechend gefügt sein.“<sup>67</sup>

Das Evangelium hat für Irenäus aber nicht nur vier verschiedene Gestalten, sondern auch mehrere mögliche Reihenfolgen dieser Gestalten.

## 2.2 Die variable Reihenfolge der vier Evangelien

Insgesamt drei verschiedene Reihenfolgen kennt Irenäus für die vier Evangelien: (1) Joh-Lk-Mt-Mk, (2) Mt-Lk-Mk-Joh und schließlich (3) Mt-Mk-Lk-Joh. Daneben gibt es einen Sonderfall in (4) Haer. III 16,2–9, der eigens zu betrachten ist, ehe ein (5) Fazit gezogen werden kann.

<sup>66</sup> Vgl. die schematische Darstellung Punkt 2.2 S. 236.

<sup>67</sup> So die Rekapitulation am Ende von Haer. III 11,9 (Rousseau, *Contre les hérésies*, 174,275–278; Übersetzung: Brox, *Gegen die Häresien III*, 119).

Weshalb gibt es für Irenäus genau vier Evangelien in der Kirche? Zu Haer. III 11,7f  
Überlegungen zur Vermittlung von Vielfalt und Einheit der Evangelien τετράμορφον τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, ἐνὶ δὲ Πνεύματι συνεχόμενον

Vier Evangelien		und ihre (a) Begründungen, (b) Plausibilisierungen, (c) Entsprechungen				(b) Bundesschlüsse zur Zeit von
(a) Grundlehren aus den vier Anfängen der Evan- gelien	(b) Sogar Häretiker verwenden das Evangelium	(b) Vier Weltgegenden und Winde, weltweite Kirche	(c) Entsprechungen zu den vier Keruben aus Apk 4, 7			
			Charakteristika des Gottessohnes	Evangelien	Das Wort Gottes kommuniziert	
1) Ein Gott ist Schöpfer des Weltalls, 2) wurde verkündigt durch die Propheten, 3) gab das Gesetz des Mose, 4) Ist Vater „unseres Herrn Jesus Christus“.	nach Matthäus: Ebionäer	Evangelium als „Säule“, „Stütze“, „Geist des Lebens“ der Kirche.  Eine weltweite Kirche hat vier Säulen	Löwe: königlich	nach Johannes	majestätisch und göttlich (Patriarchenzeit)	Adam
	nach Lukas: Markion		Stier: Priester/Opfer	nach Lukas	priesterlich (Mosezeit)	Noah
	nach Markus: Jesus leidet, Christus nicht		Mensch: Mensch	nach Matthäus	menschlich (Jesuszeit)	Mose
	nach Johannes: Valentinianer		Adler: Geist/Kirche	nach Markus	geistlich und weltweit (Zeit der Kirche)	Christus
Haer. III 11,7 (SC 211, 158,150 – 155)	ebd. (158,158 – 160,174)	Haer. III 11,8 (160,175 – 162,182)	ebd. (162,182 – 164,196)	ebd. (164,197 – 168,220)	ebd. (168,220 – 230)	ebd. (168,230 – 170,236)
Übereinstimmende Grundlehren	Häretiker	Geographie, Kirche	Thronfiguren des Schöpfer-Wortes	Akzente der Evangelien	Gotteswort in der Heilsgeschichte	Epochen der Heils- geschichte
Lehrinhalte	Menschen	Erde	Himmel und Erde	Schriften	Offenbarungen	Epochen

Die Vierzahl wird bestätigt durch die Übereinstimmung der Evangelien, der Schriften, durch Orte (global), Zeiten (universal) und sogar „Häretiker“.

### 2.2.1 Joh-Lk-Mt-Mk

Am einfachsten ist die Reihenfolge Joh-Lk-Mt-Mk verständlich, die bereits durch Haer. III 11,8 vor Augen geführt wurde. Sie kommt nur hier vor und verdankt sich – so bereits Theodor Zahn in seiner Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons – „der Reihenfolge der Thiere in der apokalyptischen Schilderung“, also Apk 4,7.<sup>68</sup>

### 2.2.2 Mt-Lk-Mk-Joh

Die bei Irenäus dreimal wiederkehrende Reihenfolge lautet Mt-Lk-Mk-Joh. Sie kommt in Haer. III 9,1–11,6; 11,7 und IV 6,1 vor.<sup>69</sup> Es handelt sich um die „Irenäus geläufigste Reihenfolge“<sup>70</sup>. Am einfachsten ließe sich diese Reihenfolge dadurch erklären, dass sie „seinem Bibalexemplar“ in einem Kodex zugrunde lag.<sup>71</sup> Allerdings benutzt Irenäus einen solchen Kodex nicht als Argument für einen Vierevangelienverbund, und sehr wahrscheinlich gebrauchte er verschiedene Kodizes für die einzelnen Evangelien. Denn: „Die ältesten uns erhaltenen *Evangelienkodizes*, in denen alle vier Evangelien zusammen überliefert sind, sind später zu datieren.“<sup>72</sup> Dennoch ist die frühe Existenz eines Vierevangelienkodex – sowohl buchtechnisch als auch ideell – zumindest möglich.<sup>73</sup> Mehr noch, möglicherweise hängen Verbund und Kodex eng miteinander zusammen,<sup>74</sup> und

<sup>68</sup> Theodor Zahn, Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons. Bd.1: Das Neue Testament vor Origenes. Bd. 2: Urkunden und Belege zum ersten und dritten Band. Hildesheim/New York 1975 (Nachdruck der Ausgabe Erlangen/Leipzig 1888.1889.1890.1892), 365. S. ausführlich B. Mutschler, Corpus Johanneum (Anm. 13), 67–70, dort auch zur Auseinandersetzung mit einer alternativen Erklärung durch T.C. Skeat.

<sup>69</sup> Haer. III 9,1–11,6 (Rousseau, Contre les hérésies, 98,12–156,149); 11,7 (Rousseau, Contre les hérésies, 158,150–160,172); IV 6,1 (Rousseau, Contre les hérésies, 438,7–9) mit einem „Gedächtnisfehler“ im Blick auf das Markusevangelium, s. Josef Hoh, *Die Lehre des hl. Irenäus über das Neue Testament*, NTA 7/4 f (Münster i.W.: Aschendorff 1919), 17.

<sup>70</sup> H. von Campenhausen, Entstehung (Anm. 36), 229 Anm. 242.

<sup>71</sup> So bereits vor einem Jahrhundert J. Hoh, Lehre (Anm. 69), 18.

<sup>72</sup> G. Theissen, Entstehung (Anm. 63), 289 (Hervorheb. i.O.). Der dem dritten Jahrhundert zuzuordnende P<sup>45</sup> aus der Chester Beatty-Sammlung sei „eine Ausnahme“. Einen Überblick über die vier Evangelien in den vorkonstantinischen Evangelienpapyri gibt B. Mutschler, Irenäus (Anm. 30), 237.

<sup>73</sup> T.C. Skeat, Origin (Anm. 65), 83–86 argumentiert: „But inevitably the selection of the Four and their physical unity in the Codex gave them, right from the start, an authority and prestige which no competitor could hope to rival.“

<sup>74</sup> „(...) that the Four-Gospel Canon and the Four-Gospel codex are inextricably linked, and that each presupposes the other“, so Theodore C. Skeat, Irenaeus and the Four-Gospel Canon, in *The*

möglicherweise datiert der älteste bekannte Vierevangelienkodex tatsächlich bereits in die Zeit des Irenäus.<sup>75</sup> Die meisten Evangelienkodizes des zweiten Jahrhunderts waren jedoch „single-Gospel manuscripts“.<sup>76</sup> Selbstverständlich könnte die Voranstellung des Matthäus- und Lukasevangeliums auch buchtechnisch (die längeren synoptischen Evangelien nach vorne), aus der Mission des frühen Christentums, durch den katechetischen bzw. liturgischen Gebrauch begründet sein<sup>77</sup> oder einfach in dem Umstand, dass das Markusevangelium inhaltlich und literarisch schon früh im Schatten der beiden übrigen stand.<sup>78</sup> Als Quelle petriner Überlieferungen und zugleich in Rom entstanden, war das Markusevangelium von Anfang an unverzichtbar und allgemein anerkannt.<sup>79</sup>

Klemens von Alexandrien – überliefert bei Euseb – führt auf eine weitere Spur. Demnach habe er „von den alten Presbytern“ (τῶν ἀνέκαθεν πρεσβυτέρων) eine Überlieferung zur Reihenfolge der Evangelien erhalten: „Dieselbe lautet: diejenigen Evangelien, welche die Genealogien enthalten, seien zuerst geschrieben worden.“<sup>80</sup> Interessanterweise wird auch hier die Entstehung des Markusevangeliums mit Petrus und Rom verknüpft:

„Beim Evangelium nach Markus waltete folgende Fügung. Nachdem Petrus in Rom öffentlich das Wort gepredigt und im Geiste das Evangelium verkündet hatte, sollen seine zahlreichen Zuhörer Markus gebeten haben, er möge, da er schon seit langem Petrus begleitet und seine Worte im Gedächtnis habe, seine Predigten niederschreiben. Markus habe willfahren und

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*Collected Biblical Writings of T.C. Skeat. Introduced and edited by James K. Elliott*, NT.S 113 (Leiden/Boston 2004), 73–78.; ders., *Origin* (Anm. 65), 87: „The Four-Gospel Canon and the Four-Gospel Codex are thus inseparable.“

**75** Nach den Untersuchungen von Theodore C. Skeat, *The Oldest Manuscript of the Four Gospels*, in *The Collected Biblical Writings of T.C. Skeat. Introduced and edited by James K. Elliott*, NT.S 113 (Leiden/Boston 2004), 189 könnten P4, P64 und P67 zusammengehören und in das späte zweite Jahrhundert datiert werden. Dieser Kodex „has a very good claim to be regarded as the oldest known codex of the four Gospels“.

**76** Larry W. Hurtado, *The Earliest Christian Artifacts. Manuscripts and Christian Origins* (Grand Rapids, MI/Cambridge, U.K.: Eerdmans 2006), 73.

**77** Yves-M. Blanchard, *Aux sources du canon, le témoignage d'Irénée*, CFI 175 (Paris, 1993), 198 weist auf „usages liturgiques des Églises familières à Irénée, tant celle de Lyon que celles d'Asie“.

**78** Als *ex post* „literarisch überflüssige(s) Evangelium“, s. B. Mutschler, *Corpus Johanneum* (Anm. 13), 74 Anm. 69.

**79** M. Hengel, *Petrus* (Anm. 37), 72 führt aus: „Die besondere Autorität des Petrus hinter dem Markusevangelium hat auch bewirkt, daß dasselbe, obwohl sein Inhalt von Lk und noch mehr von Mt weitgehend übernommen worden war, ganz im Gegensatz zu anderen Evangelienquellen, die verlorengingen, als selbstständiges Werk im Rahmen des εὐαγγέλιον τετράμορφον erhalten blieb.“ S. auch ausführlich ebd., 58–78.165.167–179.

**80** Eus., *H.e.* VI 14,5 (Schwartz, *Eusebius Werke* (Anm. 54), 550,15–18; Gärtner, *Kirchengeschichte* [Anm. 54], 298).

ihnen der Bitte entsprechend das Evangelium gegeben. Als Petrus davon erfuhr, habe er ihn durch ein mahnend Wort weder davon abgehalten noch dazu ermuntert.“<sup>81</sup>

Beide synoptischen Seitenreferenten sind zudem wesentlich länger und ausführlicher als das Markusevangelium, so dass dieses möglicherweise bereits aufgrund seiner Kürze zurückstehen musste (dieses Ordnungsprinzip ist etwa an der kanonischen Reihenfolge des Corpus Paulinum oder der Koransuren ablesbar).<sup>82</sup> Das Matthäusevangelium ging bereits lange vor Irenäus als eigentliches, kirchlich am meisten rezipiertes Evangelium an Beliebtheit allen übrigen Evangelien voran.<sup>83</sup> Ähnlich klar scheint von Anfang an die Schlussposition des Johannesevangeliums als jüngstes, nicht synoptisches und teilweise umstrittenes Evangelium gewesen zu sein.<sup>84</sup> Die beiden Außenpositionen sind auch in der nächsten Evangelienreihenfolge mit den beiden jüdischen Namen Matthäus und Johannes besetzt.

### 2.2.3 Mt-Mk-Lk-Joh

In Haer. III 1,1 – der Abschnitt ist noch gesondert zu betrachten<sup>85</sup> – ist die heute kanonische Reihenfolge Mt-Mk-Lk-Joh überliefert. Obwohl sie bei Irenäus nur einmal vorkommt, ist es „bei weitem die bestbezeugte Reihenfolge der Evange-

<sup>81</sup> Eus., H.e. VI 14,6 (Schwartz, Eusebius Werke [Anm. 54], 550,18-25; Übersetzung: Gärtner [Anm. 54], 289).

<sup>82</sup> Eine frühe Teilsammlung bestand aus vier Briefen. Ihr sind später zwei Anhänge zuge wachsen, s. G. Theißen, Entstehung (Anm. 63), 137; ders., *Das Neue Testament*, Beck Wissen (München: Beck 2004), 88 f.

<sup>83</sup> Wolf D. Köhler, *Die Rezeption des Matthäusevangeliums in der Zeit vor Irenäus*, WUNT II 24 (Tübingen, J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck] 1987), 522 spricht von einer „deutlichen Präponderanz des Mt gegenüber den anderen Evangelien“. „Der zweite Rang hinter dem Mt – mit übrigens gar nicht so übermäßig großem Abstand – gebührt dem Lk“, ebd. 523. Hingegen sei „die Rezeption des Mk“ „so gut wie nie positiv wahrscheinlich zu machen“. Für eine umfangreiche Auflistung der vori renäischen Matthäusrezeption s. ebd., 539–571. Ein ähnlich lautendes Ergebnis ermittelte Édouard Massaux, *Influence de l'Évangile de Saint Matthieu sur la littérature chrétienne avant Saint Irénée*, BEThL 75 (Leuven, Peeters, 1986), 651–655. Für Irenäus s. B. Mutschler, Irenäus (Anm. 30), 71–73.76–78.228 f.235–237.

<sup>84</sup> Vgl. pars pro toto wiederum die in den Hypotyposen des Klemens enthaltene ältere Presbytertradition, überliefert bei Eus., H.e. VI 14,7 (Schwartz, Eusebius Werke [Anm. 54], 550,25–28). Zur Auseinandersetzung mit einer alternativen Erklärung der Reihenfolge Mt-Lk-Mk-Joh bei Irenäus durch Dwight J. Bingham s. ausführlich B. Mutschler, *Corpus Johanneum* (Anm. 13), 71–74.

<sup>85</sup> Dazu u. S. 242–250.

lien“, die „in fast allen griechischen Handschriften und in dem Muratorischen Fragment“ belegt ist.<sup>86</sup> Sie wird in Haer. III 1,1 „aus der Chronologie der Evv. nach Ir.(enäus)“ erklärt.<sup>87</sup>

#### 2.2.4 Ein Sonderfall in Haer. III 16,2–9

Einen Sonderfall stellt die Anordnung in Haer. III 16,2–9 dar. Den Schlüssel zum Verständnis bildet der wegweisende Satz vorab: „Wir müssen die gesamte Auffassung, die die Apostel von unserem Herrn Jesus Christus hatten, aufbieten“.<sup>88</sup> Da die *universa apostolorum sententia* beabsichtigt ist, wundert es nicht, dass Johannes, Matthäus und Paulus als „die hervorragenden apostolischen Zeugen“ für Irenäus jeweils mehrfach namentlich genannt sind, der Apostelschüler Lukas aber gar nicht und Markus nur ein einziges Mal.<sup>89</sup> Weshalb wird Markus eigens genannt? Weil dasjenige Evangelium, das mit *Initium Iesu Christi filii Dei* beginnt, „aufzubieten“ ist, wenn Christologie im Fokus des Interesses liegt. Mk 1,1f wird folglich wörtlich zitiert.<sup>90</sup> Insgesamt ergibt sich in Haer. III 16,2–9 eine Kette aus sieben Gliedern in der Reihenfolge Joh-Mt-Pls-Mk-Lk-Joh-Pls. Daher liegt hier weder eine künstlich herstellbare Abfolge Mt-Mk-Lk-Joh vor noch ein gewöhnlicher Rekurs auf die vier Evangelien. Es handelt sich insofern um einen Sonderfall, der sich an der Christologie der Apostel orientiert.<sup>91</sup>

#### 2.2.5 Fazit

So fest die Vierzahl der Evangelien einerseits steht, ist andererseits ihre Reihenfolge in gewissen Grenzen variabel. Das bedeutet jedoch nicht, dass sie beliebig ist. Die konventionelle und am häufigsten wiederkehrende Reihenfolge lautet für Irenäus Mt-Lk-Mk-Joh.

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<sup>86</sup> Caspar R. Gregory, *Textkritik des Neuen Testamentes. Die Übersetzungen – die Schriftsteller – Geschichte der Kritik* (Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1900), 854.

<sup>87</sup> S. J. Hoh, *Lehre* (Anm. 69), 16; ferner B. Mutschler, *Corpus Johanneum* (Anm. 13), 66.

<sup>88</sup> *Necesse habemus universam apostolorum de Domino nostro Iesu Christo sententiam adhibere*, Haer. III 16,1 (Rousseau, *Contre les hérésies*, 288,27–290,29; Übersetzung: Brox, *Gegen die Häresien* III, 187).

<sup>89</sup> B. Mutschler, *Corpus Johanneum* (Anm. 13), 78 f.

<sup>90</sup> Haer. III 16,3 (Rousseau, *Contre les hérésies*, 298,98–100).

<sup>91</sup> S. ausführlich B. Mutschler, *Corpus Johanneum* (Anm. 13), 75–81.

Ob sie einer persönlichen Wertschätzung, einer oder mehreren lokalen oder regionalen Tradition(en), Irenäus' Evangelienkodex, kirchlich-katechetischen Konventionen oder einer entsprechenden Mischung aus alledem geschuldet ist, muss letztlich offen bleiben. Seiner Lyoneser Leserschaft scheint diese Reihenfolge entweder vertraut und willkommen oder zumindest akzeptabel und gut nachvollziehbar. Eine auf seine Gegner hin vorgenommene antihäretische Anordnung dürfte kaum vorliegen, da das Lukas- und das Johannesevangelium – beide stehen im Zentrum der Auseinandersetzung mit Menschen, die von Markion bzw. von Valentin herkommen, – nicht gemeinsam am Beginn oder in klimaktischer Anordnung am Ende der Reihe positioniert sind. Es ist zudem schwer vorstellbar und darum unwahrscheinlich, dass Irenäus seine konventionelle Reihenfolge der vier Evangelien ausgerechnet aus Rücksicht auf „Abweichler“ (Häretiker) geändert hätte.<sup>92</sup> In zwei Einzelfällen weicht er freilich von der sonst üblichen Reihenfolge ab. In beiden Fällen ist dies erklärbar: Einmal folgt er einer Entsprechung zur Anordnung der Lebewesen in Apk 4,7, das andere Mal greift er auf eine ihm vorliegende Tradition zur Entstehung der vier Evangelien zurück. Trotz seiner unbedingten Höchstschätzung sowohl der „Herrnworte“ als auch des Vierevangelienverbundes unterliegt Irenäus nicht einem gewissermaßen bibli-zistischen, formalistischen Vollständigkeitsideal. Stattdessen sucht und wählt er „Herrnworte“ nach inhaltlichen Kriterien, und er verwendet die Evangelien dabei in den allermeisten Fällen als Einzelschriften.

Es ist daher bemerkenswert, dass der kleinasiatisch-südgallische Theologe die vier Evangelien nur an insgesamt fünf Stellen systematisch und vollständig der Reihe nach aufführt.<sup>93</sup> Weitere Reihungen liegen weder in *Adversus Haereses* noch in der *Epideixis* vor. Die Reihenfolge der vier Evangelien ist für Irenäus zwar nicht mehr beliebig, aber in Einzelfällen durchaus noch variabel und fluide. Dies zeigt sich auch darin, dass eine bestimmte Anordnung der Evangelien an keiner Stelle als Argument zu Gunsten der vier Evangelien verwendet wird.

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**92** Eine ältere, von Dwight J. Bingham, *Irenaeus* (Anm. 24), 91f erneuerte These ist darum kaum wahrscheinlich.

**93** Zur kulturellen Einordnung in einem weiten Bogen, der von Smyrna bis Südgalien, von den Kelten bis nach Kleinasien reicht, s. Jared Secord, *The Cultural Geography of a Greek Christian: Irenaeus from Smyrna to Lyons*, in *Irenaeus. Life, Scripture, Legacy*, Hg. Sara Parvis, Paul Foster (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2012), 25–33.

## 2.3 Literarhistorische Basisannahmen über die vier Evangelien

Was weiß Irenäus über die Entstehung der vier Evangelien? Wie ordnet er sie selbst ein? Einschlägig dafür ist die so genannte (1) Evangeliennotiz (genauer handelt es sich um eine Vierevangeliennotiz) am Beginn des dritten Buches von *Adversus Haereses*. (2) Ihre Herkunft sowie (3) Besonderheiten zu Johannes sind eigens zu betrachten, ehe erneut ein (4) Fazit gezogen werden kann.

### 2.3.1 Die Vierevangeliennotiz, Haer. III 1,1

Für das dritte bis fünfte Buch kündigt sein Verfasser „Schriftbeweise“ an.<sup>94</sup> Als kriteriologische und hermeneutische Basis wird in Haer. III 1–5 die Grundlage für die schriftgestützte Argumentation der folgenden drei Bücher gelegt. Deshalb kann Haer. III 1–5 überschrieben werden mit: „Die Wahrheit der kirchlich überlieferten apostolischen Schriften.“<sup>95</sup>

Am Beginn rekapituliert Irenäus erzählerisch die frühe Geschichte der Ausbreitung des Christentums: Vom Geist erfüllt und mit „vollkommener Erkenntnis“ („perfekter Gnosis“, *perfecta agnitio*) seien die Apostel nach Ostern „bis an die Grenzen der Erde“ ausgezogen, um den Menschen „himmlischen Frieden“ zu verkündigen (Lk 2,13).<sup>96</sup> Daran schließt sich die bekannte Evangeliennotiz an, die auch in Eusebs Kirchengeschichte überliefert ist:<sup>97</sup>

„So hat Matthäus bei den Hebräern in deren Sprache (gepredigt) und außerdem ein Evangelium in schriftlicher Form herausgegeben. Zur selben Zeit predigten Petrus und Paulus in Rom das Evangelium und gründeten die (dortige) Kirche. Nach ihrem Tod hat Markus, der Schüler und Dolmetscher des Petrus, ebenfalls in schriftlicher Form für uns hinterlassen, was Petrus verkündet hat. Und Lukas hat als Begleiter des Paulus das von ihm gepredigte Evangelium (...) in einem Buch niedergelegt. Schließlich gab Johannes, der Jünger des Herrn, der auch an seiner Brust lag (...), ebenfalls das Evangelium heraus, als er sich in Ephesus in Asien aufhielt.“

<sup>94</sup> „Im dritten Buch, das hiermit vorliegt, liefere ich die Beweise aus den Schriften“, Haer. III praef. (Rousseau, *Contre les hérésies*, 16,13f; Übersetzung: Brox, *Gegen die Häresien III*, 19).

<sup>95</sup> Zur Einführung in den Abschnitt s. B. Mutschler, *Corpus Johanneum* (Anm. 13), 14–25.61; ders., Irenäus (Anm. 30), 154 f.

<sup>96</sup> Haer. III 1,1 (Rousseau, *Contre les hérésies*, 20,10–22,17).

<sup>97</sup> Haer. III 1,1 (Rousseau, *Contre les hérésies*, 22,18–24,27; Übersetzung: Brox, *Gegen die Häresien III*, 25) mit fr. gr. 1 bei Eus., H.e. V 8,2–4 (Schwartz, *Eusebius Werke* [Anm. 54], 442,26–444,7).



Drei Phasen sind demnach zu unterscheiden: (1) Am Beginn predigten Matthäus als Evangelist im jüdischen Bereich „in deren Dialekt“<sup>98</sup> und Petrus und Paulus als Evangelisten und Gemeindegründer in Rom. Matthäus hinterließ sein Evangelium bereits schriftlich.<sup>99</sup> (2) Nach dem Ableben des Petrus haben sein Schüler und Dolmetscher Markus, nach dem Ableben des Paulus dessen Begleiter Lukas jeweils ihr Evangelium schriftlich hinterlassen bzw. niedergelegt.<sup>100</sup> (3) Als letztes edierte Johannes, „der Jünger des Herrn“, in Ephesus sein Evangelium schriftlich.

Anstatt in erster Linie chronologisch kann man die Daten auch geographisch oder im Blick auf die Verbundenheit mit den Ursprüngen gewichten.<sup>101</sup> Demnach haben Matthäus, Markus, Lukas und Johannes nacheinander ein Evangelium verfasst: Matthäus und Johannes als Apostel, Markus und Lukas hingegen als Schüler der Apostel Petrus und Paulus. Matthäus wirkte „bei den Hebräern“, Petrus und Paulus in Rom, Johannes „in Ephesus in Asien“. Die beiden Evangelisten mit einem jüdischen Namen haben eine besondere Nähe zum jüdischen Mutterland: Matthäus durch seinen „Dialekt“ (ungeachtet der Frage, ob damit

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**98** Umstritten ist, ob darunter eine bestimmte Darstellungsweise oder bestimmte Sprachen wie Hebräisch bzw. Aramäisch zu verstehen sind. Gegen ein sprachliches Verständnis plädiert entschieden Josef Kürzinger, *Papian von Hierapolis und die Evangelien des Neuen Testaments. Gesammelte Aufsätze, Neuausgabe und Übersetzung der Fragmente*, EichM.PT 4 (Regensburg: Pustet, 1983), 34: „Es läßt sich aus der griechischen Literatur, vor allem aus den grammatikalischen, rhetorischen und literarkritischen Schriften ohne Mühe nachweisen, daß *διάλεκτος* in erster Linie im Sinne von Kompositions- und Darstellungsweise, Stil und dergleichen verwendet wurde und erst in zweiter Linie auch im Sinne von Sprache, Idiom.“ Dagegen macht Claus J. Thornton, *Der Zeuge des Zeugen. Lukas als Historiker der Paulusreisen*, WUNT 56 (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck] 1991), 64 geltend, dass ἡ *διάλεκτος* bei Irenäus „immer die Sprache“ bezeichne, „so daß zumindest er seine Vorlage in diesem Sinn verstanden haben muß“. Eine hebräische oder aramäische Ausgabe des Matthäusevangeliums wird von Irenäus jedoch an keiner anderen Stelle erwähnt oder vorausgesetzt. In seiner Übersetzung unterscheidet N. Brox, *Gegen die Häresien III* (Anm. 3), 24f mit Anm. 9 „eine Phase nur der mündlichen Predigt der Apostel von der später einsetzenden Maßnahme“ schriftlicher Publikation, analog zu den folgenden beiden Evangelien.

**99** Bei der Formulierung *scripturam edidit Evangelii* (καὶ γραφὴν ἐξήνεγκεν εὐαγγελίου), Haer. III 1,1 (Rousseau, *Contre les hérésies*, 22,18f; 23,17), weist nichts darauf hin, dass Irenäus hier eine andere Sprache als Griechisch voraussetzt.

**100** Μετὰ δὲ τὴν τούτων ἔξοδον (*post vero horum excessum*), Haer. III 1,1 (Rousseau, *Contre les hérésies*, 22,20f; 23,19) knüpft an μετὰ τὴν ἑμὴν ἔξοδον an, 2 Petr 1,15, was für Irenäus eine „Eigenaussage Petri über seinen Tod“ darstellt, so Hans J. Schulz, *Die Apostolische Herkunft der Evangelien. Zum Ursprung der Evangelienform in der urgemeindlichen Paschafeier*, QD 145 (Freiburg et al.: Herder, 1997), 53 Anm. 58. So auch neuerdings Denis Farkasvalvy, „Irenaeus's First Reference to the Four Gospels and the Formation of the Fourfold Gospel Canon“, *PRSt* 43 (2016): 424: „exodus' means death and not a geographic departure“.

**101** Zu den entsprechenden Merkmalen s. B. Mutschler, *Corpus Johanneum* (Anm. 13), 98 Anm. 21.

eine bestimmte Darstellungsweise oder eine bestimmte Sprache, „Hebräisch“ oder Aramäisch, gemeint ist), Johannes durch seine Nähe zum „Herrn“. Markus und Lukas als Evangelisten mit einem römisch-hellenistischen Namen haben eine besondere Nähe zur *Roma urbs*: Ihre Lehrer Petrus und Paulus predigten in Rom und „gründeten“ (als namhafte Apostel) die dortige Gemeinde.<sup>102</sup> Die Ausstrahlung der römischen Gemeinde reichte (auch in Ermangelung einer weiteren apostolischen Gemeinde im Westen) weit nach Norden und nach Westen, konkret bis nach Südgallien und zu Irenäus „von Lyon“.

Wie ist die Evangeliennotiz strukturiert und kontextualisiert? Am Beginn und am Ende der Aufzählung stehen als *inclusio* wie zwei starke Außentürme die beiden Apostel Matthäus und Johannes. Dazwischen sind Markus und Lukas eingefügt, die selbst nicht Apostel ersten Grades, sondern Schüler bzw. Begleiter von Aposteln sind. Anstatt den Begriff „Apostel“ zu gebrauchen, den Irenäus häufig verwendet,<sup>103</sup> scheinen die bloßen Namen der Evangelisten selbst genügend Strahlkraft zu besitzen.<sup>104</sup> Der Anschluss des Matthäus an die Ereignisse von Ostern und Pfingsten ist sprachlich, geographisch und chronologisch eng gedacht und erklärt seine kanonische Voranstellung. Obwohl Johannes den Abschluss der Aufzählung bildet, ist er in besonderer Weise nicht nur mit dem kleinasiatischen Raum verbunden, sondern auch mit Jesus. Insofern liegt eine doppelte Steigerung von Matthäus zu Johannes vor: Johannes „lag an der Brust des Herrn“, und seine kulturelle Brücke ist weiter gespannt, da sie von Palästina bis in die östliche Ägäis und nach Kleinasien reicht, der Herkunftsregion von Irenäus alias Εἰρηναῖος.

Petrus und Paulus werden trotz ihrer zeitlichen und geographischen Verschiedenheit – der eine stammt aus dem unmittelbaren Umfeld Jesu, der andere kommt erst später aus der Diaspora hinzu – durch den gemeinsamen geographischen Haftpunkt Rom synchronisiert und parallelisiert. Analog dazu werden Markus und Lukas als ihre jeweiligen Nachlassverwalter in paralleler Funktion aufgeführt. Worin besteht der kanonische Vorzug des Markus gegenüber Lukas? Einerseits ergibt er sich aus dem Vorzug der Lehrer untereinander, d. h. des Petrus gegenüber Paulus. Andererseits dürfte Markus deutlich mehr als nur ein „Dolmetscher“ für Petrus gewesen sein. Die Funktionsbezeichnung *interpretēs* bzw. ἑρμηνευτής für Markus bedeutet hier wohl mehr als nur einen durch seine Sprachkenntnisse und durch seinen Körpereinsatz, z. B. Stimme, Mimik und Gestik, agierenden mündlichen Übersetzer. Petrus, der „aus dem weitgehend gräzisierten Bethsaida“ stammte, dürfte einen solchen kaum nötig gehabt ha-

<sup>102</sup> Das paulinische Selbstzeugnis lautet bekanntlich anders, s. Röm 1,10 – 15; 15,23 f.29.32; vgl. auch Act 19,21.

<sup>103</sup> So etwa im vorausgehenden Kontext Haer. III 1,1 (Rousseau, *Contre les hérésies*, 20,9f).

<sup>104</sup> S. im nachfolgenden Abschnitt zum Alter der Vierevangeliennotiz.

ben,<sup>105</sup> wenn er außerhalb von Palästina unterwegs war und sich auf Griechisch verständigen wollte. Man darf also eher „den tatsächlichen Dienst des Markus als den eines *katechetischen Helfers*“ verstehen, als den „Dienst des *Missionshelfers*“ für Petrus.<sup>106</sup> Markus war daher Übersetzer und Hermeneut in einem umfassenden und weiten Sinn.<sup>107</sup> Er wird mit Bedacht als „Schüler und Hermeneut“ bezeichnet, während für Lukas der allgemeinere Begriff des „Begleiter(s)“ gewählt wird.

Die Evangeliennotiz stellt ein multiperspektivisch differenziertes Gefüge dar: chronologisch, geographisch, im Blick auf die Nähe zu Jesus und im Blick auf die Wahrnehmung frühchristlicher Verkündigung. Keineswegs zufällig enthält sie viermal ein Mitglied der Wortfamilie *evangel\** (εὐαγγελ\*<sup>108</sup>). Man kann also mit Fug und Recht von einer *Vierevangeliennotiz* sprechen.

### 2.3.2 Zur Herkunft der Vierevangeliennotiz

Es gibt gute Argumente dafür, dass es sich bei der von Irenäus überlieferten Vierevangeliennotiz um einen übernommenen Text handelt, der aus einer römischen Perspektive formuliert wurde.<sup>108</sup> An dieser Stelle genügen die Hinweise, dass so verschiedene Gestalten wie Petrus und Paulus durch ihr Wirken in Rom

<sup>105</sup> H.-J. Schulz, *Herkunft* (Anm. 100), 41.

<sup>106</sup> H.-J. Schulz, *Herkunft* (Anm. 100), 41 (Hervorheb. im Original). Bereits nach J. Kürzinger, Papias (Anm. 98), 47 kennzeichnet ἐρμηνευτής „Markus als Vermittler der von Petrus herkommenden Überlieferung“. Ἐρμηνεύειν beziehe „in seiner Grundbedeutung sich auf das ‚Darstellen, Mitteilen, Vermitteln‘ eines Inhalts“, ebd.

<sup>107</sup> Als „Über-Setzer“ (Vermittler, Transformator, Fährmann) in regionale Kultur, örtliche Gegebenheiten und Mentalität und als „Üb-Ersetzer“ (Sprachhelfer, Theologe, Katechet) in Kontexte und Horizonte, Situationen und Bedürfnisse konkreter Menschen hinein. Ein sprachlicher Akzent steht angesichts der Gräzität der römischen Gemeinde in den ersten beiden Jahrhunderten kaum im Vordergrund, s. dazu Peter Lampe, *Die stadtrömischen Christen in den ersten beiden Jahrhunderten. Untersuchungen zur Sozialgeschichte*, WUNT II 18 (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1989). Das Markusevangelium enthält eine bemerkenswerte Anzahl an Aramaismen, s. Hans P. Rüger, „Die lexikalischen Aramaismen im Markusevangelium,“ in *Markus-Philologie. Historische, literargeschichtliche und stilistische Untersuchungen zum zweiten Evangelium*, Hg. Hubert Cancik (Tübingen, J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck] 1984): 73–84; und eine stattliche Anzahl an Latinismen, s. Reinhard von Bendemann, „Die Latinismen im Markusevangelium,“ in *Frühes Christentum und Religionsgeschichtliche Schule*, Hg. Martina Janßen, F. Stanley Jones, Jürgen Wehnert (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2011), 37–52.

<sup>108</sup> H.-J. Schulz, *Herkunft* (Anm. 100), 54 betont, „daß Irenäus auch in der Evangeliennotiz die offizielle Traditionsauffassung der römischen Kirche und ihrer Bischöfe vertritt“ (Hervorh. i.O.).

miteinander in Einklang gebracht werden<sup>109</sup> oder dass der erklärende Ausdruck „Ephesus in Asien“ auf eine Abfassung fern von Ephesus, eine Region weit außerhalb von Asien, verweist. Im Gegensatz dazu wird für den mit Petrus und Rom verbundenen Markus gesagt, er habe „schriftlich für uns hinterlassen“: Diese inklusive Formulierung verweist auf eine römische Perspektive.<sup>110</sup> Für ein hohes Alter spricht außerdem, dass die Autorität der drei synoptischen Evangelien durch den Anschluss an mündliche Tradition (Predigt und Verkündigung) gesichert wird;<sup>111</sup> mutatis mutandis gilt dies auch für Johannes, der dies in gewissem Sinn übertrifft, indem er an der „Brust des Herrn“ vorgestellt wird. Aufgrund formaler Übereinstimmungen mit bibliothekarischen Listen kommt Claus-Jürgen Thornton zum Ergebnis, dass die Vierevangeliennotiz „in direktem Zusammenhang mit der römischen Gemeindebibliothek zu sehen“ sei.<sup>112</sup> Sie sei „ganz im Stil der pinakographischen Biobibliographie“ verfasst,<sup>113</sup> gehe daher „auf eine Eintragung zurück, die bei der Sammlung der 4 Evangelien gemacht wurde“,<sup>114</sup> und stamme aus der Zeit vor Markion: „Das wird ca. zwischen 120 und 135 der Fall gewesen sein“, so Thornton abschließend.<sup>115</sup> Diese neuere Erklärung zur Herkunft der Vierevangeliennotiz widerspricht derjenigen einer Weiterentwicklung der Notizen des Papias zu Markus bzw. Matthäus durch Irenäus,<sup>116</sup> die bereits seit langem

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**109** Mehr noch, „die auf Rom bezogene Verkündigung *Petri und Pauli*“ erscheint „als strukturelles Rückgrat und inhaltlicher Mittelpunkt der Notiz“, so H.J. Schulz, *Herkunft* (Anm. 100), 52 (Hervorh. i.O.).

**110** *Per scripta nobis traditit* (ἐγγραφῶς ἡμῖν παρέδωκεν), Haer. III 1,1 (Rousseau, *Contre les hérésies*, 22,22–24,23; 25,21). Nur hier wird inklusiv formuliert. Für weitere und umfassende Begründungen für Rom als Entstehungsort s. C.-J. Thornton, *Zeuge* (Anm. 98), 10–22.

**111** „The question of authenticity is shifted from the written message to the oral preaching“, s. D. Farkasfalvy, *Reference* (Anm. 100), 424.

**112** C.-J. Thornton, *Zeuge* (Anm. 98), 45.

**113** C.-J. Thornton, *Zeuge* (Anm. 98), 63. Ähnlich H.-J. Schulz, *Herkunft* (Anm. 100), 54: „*Form eines Konzentrats*“ (Hervorheb. i.O.).

**114** C.-J. Thornton, *Zeuge* (Anm. 98), 53.

**115** C.-J. Thornton, *Zeuge* (Anm. 98), 62. Zum Verhältnis zwischen irenäischer Vierevangeliennotiz und den Nachrichten des Papias von Hierapolis s. ebd., 63–67. Ähnlich M. Hengel, *Petrus* (Anm. 37), 72 Anm. 150: „Die Vierevangelien Sammlung wurde etwa um 120 in der Bibliothek einer großen Gemeinde (...) zusammengestellt und blieb zunächst auf große Gemeinden beschränkt.“

**116** Zur älteren Erklärung s. J. Kürzinger, *Papias* (Anm. 98), 33–42. Zur Interpretation der Papiasnotizen, überliefert bei Eus., H.e. III 39,15f (Schwartz, *Eusebius Werke* [Anm. 54], 290,21–292,6), s. ausführlich M. Hengel, *Evangelien* (Anm. 37), 120–141, zur neueren Verhältnisbestimmung zwischen den Papiasnotizen und der irenäischen Evangeliennotiz s. C.-J. Thornton, *Zeuge* (Anm. 98), 63–67.

in Zweifel gezogen wird und als sehr unsicher gelten muss.<sup>117</sup> Eine Variante dieser späten Entstehung bildet die Zuweisung der Vierevangeliennotiz zum historischen Treffen zwischen Polykarp von Smyrna und Aniket von Rom in Rom in der Mitte des zweiten Jahrhunderts.<sup>118</sup>

Irenäus rezipiert die wahrscheinlich aus der römischen Gemeindebibliothek stammende Vierevangeliennotiz als eine Art geographische und „literarhistorische Basiserklärung zu den vier Evangelien in der Reihenfolge ihrer Entstehung“.<sup>119</sup> Er gleicht dieses Wissen jedoch nicht kritisch mit seiner ansonsten üblichen Reihenfolge Mt-Lk-Mk-Joh ab. Darauf kommt es ihm innerhalb von *Adversus Haereses* nicht an. Denn erstens orientiert er sich an theologischen *Inhalten* und zweitens an der Festlegung auf *vier* Evangelien. Diese beiden Punkte sind gegenüber den von ihm als „Häretiker“ bezeichneten Gruppen strittig. In seiner geneigten Leserschaft sind entweder die Evangeliennotiz selbst – je nach Bildungsstand und geographischer Verortung – oder ihre wesentlichen Inhalte „in der Sache als bekannt“ vorauszusetzen.<sup>120</sup>

### 2.3.3 Besonderheiten zu Johannes

Die Angaben zu Johannes verdienen besondere Aufmerksamkeit: „Danach gab Johannes, der Schüler des Herrn, der auch an seiner Brust lag, auch selbst das Evangelium heraus, als er in Ephesus in Asien weilte.“<sup>121</sup>

Einerseits wird Johannes ganz klar an das Ende positioniert und damit als jüngstes Evangelium kenntlich gemacht. Andererseits wird er deutlicher als die übrigen Evangelisten hervorgehoben: Er ist nicht nur ein „Schüler des Herrn“, sondern „*der* Schüler des Herrn“. Er war dem Herrn besonders nahe, indem er „an seiner Brust lag“. Er gab das Evangelium selbst heraus (*ipse*, αὐτός). Er gab nicht „ein schriftliches Evangelium“ (so zu Matthäus), ein „Evangelium in einem Buch“

<sup>117</sup> Bereits Franz S. Gutschmidt, *Die Glaubwürdigkeit des irenäischen Zeugnisses über die Abfassung des vierten kanonischen Evangeliums aufs Neue untersucht von F.S. Gutschmidt* (Graz, Leuschner & Lubensky, 1904), 178 kommt zum Ergebnis, dass Irenäus (Hervorheb. im Original) „*nicht nur und nicht in erster Linie* aus derselben Quelle wie Eusebius, aus dem Werke des Papias geschöpft haben kann. Wahrscheinlich hat er aber aus Papias überhaupt nicht geschöpft.“

<sup>118</sup> S. D. Farkasfalvy, *Reference* (Anm. 100), 424–427: „not later than about 153 CE“, ebd., 426.

<sup>119</sup> B. Mutschler, *Irenäus* (Anm. 30), 170. Ähnlich H.J. Schulz, *Herkunft* (Anm. 100), 24 Anm. 1: „eine bündige Zusammenfassung der ältesten Zuweisungstraditionen“.

<sup>120</sup> B. Mutschler, *Corpus Johanneum* (Anm. 13), 100.

<sup>121</sup> Haer. III 1,1 (Rousseau, *Contre les hérésies*, 24,24–27), Übersetzung nach B. Mutschler, *Corpus Johanneum* (Anm. 13), 99. Zur Herkunft des Satzes s. B. Mutschler, *Irenäus* (Anm. 30), 158–161.

(so zu Lukas), sondern – betont mit Artikel – „*das Evangelium*“ heraus. Schließlich weilte er „in Ephesus in Asien“, zeichnet sich also durch eine besondere Nähe zu den kleinasiatischen Wurzeln des frühen Christentums und des Irenäus aus. Dadurch kommt – im Unterschied zu den anderen Evangelien – ein (Abfassungs- und) Erscheinungsort des Johannesevangeliums in den Blick.<sup>122</sup>

Diese Besonderheiten des Johannes bringen ihn in eine gewisse Vorzugsposition. Trotz seines verhältnismäßig jungen Alters kommt dem vierten Evangelisten Achtergewicht innerhalb der Vierevangeliennotiz zu. Diese Tendenz läuft Irenäus keineswegs zuwider, im Gegenteil. Sie ließe sich durch viele weitere Beobachtungen unterfüttern und verstärken. Dazu zählen beispielsweise die relativ häufige Nennung des Johannes oder seine insgesamt zwanzigmalige Qualifizierung als „der Jünger des Herrn“. Mit 60 Belegen wird Johannes häufiger genannt als die drei übrigen Evangelisten zusammen,<sup>123</sup> und „ausnahmslos alle 20 singularischen Belege von *discipulus* in Verbindung mit *dominus*“ bezeichnen Johannes.<sup>124</sup> Kleinasiatische Tradition ist hinter dieser stets sorgfältig gesetzten Bezeichnung mehrfach zu erkennen.<sup>125</sup> Komplementär zum Begriff des Herrnjägers wird Christus als „der Lehrer Johannes“ (ὁ τοῦ Ἰωάννου διδάσκαλος) bezeichnet.<sup>126</sup> Dies alles zeigt: Johannes ist bei Irenäus mit der Autorität „eines einzigartigen und besonderen Status“ ausgestattet.<sup>127</sup>

<sup>122</sup> H.-J. Schulz, *Herkunft* (Anm. 100), 53.

<sup>123</sup> S. im Detail Bernhard Mutschler, „Was weiß Irenäus vom Johannesevangelium? Der historische Kontext des Johannesevangeliums aus der Perspektive seiner Rezeption bei Irenäus von Lyon.“ In Jörg Frey u.a. (Hg.), *Kontexte des Johannesevangeliums. Das vierte Evangelium in religions- und traditionsgeschichtlicher Perspektive* (WUNT 175) (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck), 695–742. 696 mit Anm. 5; ders., „Moysi Litterae Verba sunt Christi“. Mose bei Irenäus von Lyon,“ in *Oleum laetitiae. Festgabe für P. Benedikt Schwank OSB*, Hg. Gunda Brüske/Anke Haendler-Kläsener (Münster: Aschendorff, 2003), 186.

<sup>124</sup> B. Mutschler, Irenäus (Anm. 30), 162.

<sup>125</sup> Zum Ganzen s. B. Mutschler, Irenäus (Anm. 30), 162–169.171f.

<sup>126</sup> Haer. I 9,2 (Rousseau, *Contre les hérésies*, 142,44 f.).

<sup>127</sup> B. Mutschler, Irenäus (Anm. 123), 168. Zu Umfang und Einordnung von Irenäus' historischer Johannesüberlieferung s. ausführlich ders., Irenäus (Anm. 30); für eine ergebnisorientierte Kurzfassung s. ders., „John and his Gospel in the Mirror of Irenaeus of Lyons. Perspectives of Recent Research,“ in *The Legacy of John. Second-Century Reception of the Fourth Gospel*, Hg. Tuomas Rasmus (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2010), 319–343. Einer kundigen und ausführlichen kritischen Prüfung werden die Daten bereits unterzogen durch F.S. Gutjahr, *Glaubwürdigkeit* (Anm. 117).

### 2.3.4 Fazit

Als Grundlage seiner Kenntnisse zu den vier Evangelien greift Irenäus an einer markanten Stelle, dem Beginn seines Nachweises über die Wahrheit der kirchlich überlieferten apostolischen Schriften (Haer. III 1–5), eine ihm vorliegende geo- und biobibliographische Notiz auf. Diese enthält einen starken Bezug auf Rom und skizziert nacheinander den Ursprung der vier Evangelien.

Demnach habe Matthäus im Bereich des Judentums gewirkt, während Petrus und Paulus in Rom das Evangelium verkündigt hätten. Markus habe als „Schüler und Hermeneut“ des Petrus dessen Verkündigung nach dessen Tod aufgeschrieben, in ähnlicher Weise Lukas als „Begleiter“ des Paulus. Zuletzt habe Johannes, „der Jünger des Herrn“, „das Evangelium“ „selbst“ „in Ephesus in Asien“ herausgegeben.

In dieser Notiz sind die Namen der vier Evangelisten dicht gedrängt und beinahe kunstvoll verwoben mit Angaben zur Chronologie, zur Geographie, zur Beteiligung an der frühchristlichen Verkündigung und zur Nähe zum „Herrn“. Sie beginnt und endet mit den beiden Apostelgestalten – für Irenäus sind sie es zweifellos – Matthäus und Johannes, die zu Evangelienverfassern wurden. In der Mitte zwischen beiden sind (der Jünger) Petrus und (der Apostel) Paulus eingefügt, deren Schüler Markus und Lukas ebenfalls ein Evangelium verfasst haben.<sup>128</sup> In der Folge ihres gut bezeugten Martyriums sind Petrus und Paulus heilsgeographisch so fest mit Rom verbunden,<sup>129</sup> dass dieses zum Antipoden für den syrischen und kleinasiatischen Herkunftsraum des frühesten Christentums wird, für den Matthäus und zuletzt Johannes stehen.

Irenäus fasst die höchstwahrscheinlich aus der römischen Gemeinde vor dem Wirken Markions stammende bibliothekarische Liste chronologisch auf, ohne die Spannung zu seiner sonstigen Abfolge der Evangelien (Mt-Lk-Mk-Joh) zu problematisieren. Besondere Bedeutung misst er jedoch der Person und dem mehrteiligen Œuvre des Johannes bei. Denn für Irenäus ist „der Jünger des Herrn“ aufgrund seines längeren Wirkens in Ephesus gewissermaßen zum Landsmann geworden. Mehr noch, der Bischof von Lyon sieht sich durch das Zwischenglied

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**128** Mit H.-J. Schulz, *Herkunft* (Anm. 100), 57 kann die Vierevangeliennotiz als „Dokument eines römisch-kleinasiatischen Ausgleichs beider Überlieferungen und der beiderseitigen kirchlichen Interessen“ verstanden werden. Deutlicher konkretisiert D. Farkasfalvy, *Reference* (Anm. 100), 427: „outcome of the meeting of Polycarp and Anicet“. Einer „Anicetan-Polycarpian“, *Roman source*“ widerspricht Dwight J. Bingham, „A Reading of Irenaeus in Response to Father Denis Farkasfalvy“, *PRSt* 43 (2016): 436.

**129** 1 Clem. 5,4–7; Ign., *Röm.* 4,3; dazu M. Hengel, *Petrus* (Anm. 37), 49.160 f.



des Polykarp von Smyrna als theologischer Enkelschüler und Sachwalter des Evangelisten und Herrnjägers Johannes.<sup>130</sup>

### 3 Irenäus – Evangelien – Experimente?

Obwohl Irenäus nach dem aus seinen Schriften ermittelbaren Selbstverständnis jegliches Experiment im Blick auf die Evangelien abgelehnt hat und weiterhin ablehnen würde, arbeitet er doch in mehrfacher Hinsicht experimentell. Einige offensichtlich experimentelle Felder sind:

(1) *Umfang der Auslegungen*: Sehr viele seiner Bezugnahmen auf ein Evangelien stellen heute die älteste erhaltene Auslegung dar, so z. B. zu Mt 21,33b–43.<sup>131</sup> Wie Irenäus diese auslegt, erscheint uns Heutigen gelegentlich als sonderbar oder sogar befremdlich, um nicht zu sagen: experimentell. Durchaus nicht experimentell ist der hohe Anteil an Bezugnahmen auf das Matthäus- und das Lukasevangelium gegenüber solchen aus dem Markusevangelium (ich zähle für Mt 478, für Lk 310, für Mk 30 und für Joh 237).<sup>132</sup>

(2) *Charakter der Auslegungen*: Der Charakter vieler Auslegungen ist durch zwei Faktoren bedingt: Kontexte werden in der Regel nicht berücksichtigt, und methodische Möglichkeiten zur Auslegung sind (noch) sehr weit, vielfach eher assoziativ. Beides geschieht im Stil der Zeit.

Gerade an dieser Stelle bemüht sich Irenäus freilich um Präzisierung, indem er (a) die kirchlich zu benutzenden Evangelien, die Quellenbasis, sehr klar identifiziert, ihre Vierzahl als universal begründet erweist, dadurch im Ergebnis einen äußersten Rahmen absteckt und (b) die Vielfalt verschiedenster Auslegungsmöglichkeiten durch theologische Vorgaben einschränkt und begründet: Es gibt *einen* Gott, der zugleich Schöpfer von allem ist, von dem sowohl die Propheten als auch sein Sohn Jesus Christus gesendet wurden usw. Dieser bei sämtlichen Auslegungen gültige Rahmen ist für Irenäus grundlegend monotheistisch, trinitarisch, christologisch-pneumatologisch und heilsgeschichtlich geprägt. Der systematisch-theologische Rahmen, d. h. konkret die oft wie durch Vorzeichen gestaltete Einführung von Zitaten und Bezugnahmen, bestimmt in sehr vielen Fällen über ihren Sinn, so dass diesen selbst (nur noch) Beweiskraft als „Belegstelle“ zukommt.

<sup>130</sup> S. ausführlich B. Mutschler, Irenäus (Anm. 123), 704–714.

<sup>131</sup> „Prior to the last quarter of the second century the parable was evidently ignored“, s. J.S. Kloppenborg, Tenants (Anm. 24), 22.

<sup>132</sup> Nach B. Mutschler, Irenäus (Anm. 30), 71–73.



Wissen und Gespür für eine eigene theologische Prägung der verschiedenen Evangelien entwickelt Irenäus am deutlichsten zum Johannesevangelium. Hier verfügt er aufgrund des gemeinsamen kleinasiatischen Bezugsfeldes über die meisten Angaben zum Verfasser. Ansonsten spricht für den Bischof aus den Evangelien in sehr vielen Fällen autoritativ „der Herr“. Einer damit verbundenen Unmittelbarkeit der Relevanz für die Gegenwart eignet bisweilen ebenfalls experimenteller Charakter.

(3) *Vier Evangelien*: Anzahl und Identifikation der autorisierten Evangelien stehen für Irenäus ohne jede Bereitschaft zum Experiment fest. Für die Begründung dieser Festlegung beschreitet er experimentell alle möglichen Wege, die ihm als plausibel erscheinen. Dazu gehören zunächst (a) grundlegende Lehrinhalte, sodann (b) verschiedene Entsprechungen zur Zahl vier, die sich in weit verbreiteten Grundansichten zur Natur (kulturellen Konzeptionen) oder in der Heilsgeschichte finden, (c) einzelne Schriftbelege und last but not least (d) die Evangelienrezeption bestimmter devianter, „häretischer“ Gruppen, die noch trotz ihrer entstellenden und „verkehrten“ Verwendung einzelner Evangelien die Geltung und Relevanz dieser Evangelien erkennen lassen. Die entwickelte Sammlung von Begründungen und Plausibilitäten zu Gunsten der vier Evangelien hat weitgehend experimentellen Charakter. Irenäus sucht sie als eine *universale*, durch Schöpfung, Schriften und Heilsgeschichte belegbare *Tatsache* zu erweisen. Aus heutiger Sicht ist nicht mehr nachvollziehbar, ob und an wen sich Irenäus dabei möglicherweise anschließt.

Auf eine akzeptierte Sammlung oder Tradition, eine gewisse Konvention oder sogar einen Verbund von vier Evangelien kann Irenäus zwar zurückgreifen, sehr wahrscheinlich jedoch nicht auf einen allgemein akzeptierten Kanon oder Kodex.

(4) *Reihenfolge der Evangelien*: Eine bestimmte Reihenfolge der vier Evangelien ist bei Irenäus zwar an wenigen Stellen erkennbar, aber sie ist weder einheitlich festgelegt noch wird sie als Argument für den Vierevangelienverbund gebraucht. Irenäus' konventionelle Reihenfolge Mt-Lk-Mk-Joh koinzidiert mit jener bei Klemens von Alexandrien in einer Presbytertradition genannten. Gleichwohl kennt Irenäus auch die (durch die Vierevangeliennotiz) seit Beginn des zweiten Jahrhunderts bekannte und seit vielen Jahrhunderten übliche Reihenfolge Mt-Mk-Lk-Joh und würdigt sie.

Für die Frage der Evangelienreihenfolge befindet sich Irenäus nicht mehr in einem experimentellen Stadium, obgleich sie für ihn eine eher untergeordnete Rolle spielt und in gewissen Grenzen variabel bleibt. Festgelegt ist bereits, dass die Reihenfolge mit Matthäus beginnt und mit Johannes endet. Einen vollständigen Schriftbeleg durch alle vier Evangelien legt Irenäus angesichts der Vielzahl seiner Bezugnahmen auf ein Evangelium nur ausnahmsweise vor. Die Wahl des

jeweiligen Evangeliums dürfte weitgehend entweder konventionell (Mt, Lk) oder theologisch (Joh) bestimmt sein.

(5) *Literarhistorische Basisannahmen*: Eine hervorgehobene Rolle in der Begründung von Ursprünglichkeit, Qualität und Geltung der vier Evangelien spielt eine von Irenäus am Beginn von Haer. III aufgegriffene und zitierte Grundinformation zu allen vier Evangelien. Diese so genannte (Vier-) Evangeliennotiz dürfte in der Bibliothek der römischen Gemeinde begründet sein und deutlich in die Zeit vor Markion zurückreichen. Da es sich um eine offizielle und sorgfältig zusammengestellte Bibliotheksnotiz handelt, sehe ich an dieser Stelle *keinen* experimentellen Charakter.

Hugo Lundhaug<sup>1</sup>

## “He who has seen me, has seen the father”

### The Gospel of Philip’s mystagogical reception of the Gospel of John

In chapter 14 of the Gospel of John, the apostle Philip expresses a desire for more direct knowledge of God, and makes the following request to Jesus:

“Lord, show us the Father and we shall be satisfied.” Jesus said to him, “Have I been with you so long, and yet you do not know me, Philip? He who has seen me, has seen the Father; how can you say, ‘show us the Father’? Do you not believe that I am in the Father and the Father in me?” (John 14:8–10 RSV)

As Cyril of Alexandria puts it, “Philip is anxious to learn, but not very keen in that understanding which is adapted to Divine vision.”<sup>2</sup> Indeed, Jesus’ rebuke is instructive. Philip should realize that since the Father is in the Son and the Son in the Father, he has in fact already seen the Father, having seen the Son. Thus, if one understands the nature of the Son and his relationship with the Father, one also by definition has knowledge of, and access to, the Father. The Gospel of John does not tell us whether Philip understood Jesus’ reply or not, but as I will presently demonstrate, the Coptic gospel that bears his name takes this insight as one of its main exegetical starting points. Indeed, the Gospel of John is arguably the Gospel of Philip’s most prominent intertext, and the latter takes its cue from the former throughout.

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<sup>2</sup> Cyril of Alexandria, *Commentary on the Gospel of John*, 9.8 (trans. Thomas Randell, *Commentary on the Gospel According to S. John by Cyril Archbishop of Alexandria: Vol 2: S. John IX–XXI* [A Library of Fathers of the Holy Catholic Church, Anterior to the Division of the East and West; London: Walter Smith, 1885], 250).

The Gospel of Philip is preserved in a single Coptic manuscript discovered,<sup>3</sup> along with the remains of twelve other codices, by the cliff of the Jabal al-Tarif in Upper Egypt in 1945.<sup>4</sup> In this manuscript, Nag Hammadi Codex II, the Gospel of Philip is the third of seven texts.<sup>5</sup> Although it is impossible to date the codex with complete certainty, it was most probably produced in the late fourth or early fifth century.<sup>6</sup> As for the Gospel of Philip itself, it is unlikely that anything resembling the preserved Coptic version of the text could derive from before the fourth century, since this version of the text seems to be crucially dependent on creedal intertexts of the fourth century.<sup>7</sup> It is also important to be aware of the fluidity of texts such as this, which makes back-dating the present version and using it as a source for earlier centuries highly speculative.<sup>8</sup> The present discussion will therefore focus strictly on the Coptic text as it has been preserved in the manuscript.

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3 Epiphanius of Salamis, Timothy of Constantinople, and Ps.-Leontius of Byzantium all refer to a Gospel of Philip. The latter mention its use among Manichaeans (Timothy of Constantinople, *De receptione haereticorum* [PG 86.1.21.C]; Ps.-Leontius, *De sectis* 3.2 [PG 86.1.21.C]), but it is impossible to know whether it has anything to do with the text known as the Gospel of Philip in Nag Hammadi Codex II. The Gospel of Philip mentioned by Epiphanius (*Pan.* 26.13.2–3) is unlikely to have anything to do with our text, since the passage he quotes is not found in the Nag Hammadi text.

4 On the discovery of the Nag Hammadi Codices, see esp. James M. Robinson, *The Nag Hammadi Story* (Leiden: Brill, 2014). On the scholarly debate regarding their provenance, see Hugo Lundhaug and Lance Jenott, *The Monastic Origins of the Nag Hammadi Codices* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2015).

5 It follows *Ap. John* and *Gos. Thom.*, and is followed by *Hyp. Arch.*, *Orig. World*, *Exeg. Soul*, and *Thom. Cont.*

6 See Hugo Lundhaug, “Shenoute of Atripe and Nag Hammadi Codex II,” in *Zugänge zur Gnosis: Akten zur Tagung der Patristischen Arbeitsgemeinschaft vom 02.–05.01.2011 in Berlin-Spandau*, ed. Christoph Marksches and Johannes van Oort (Leuven: Peeters, 2013), 208–10; Lundhaug and Jenott, *Monastic Origins* (n. 4), 9–11.

7 See Hugo Lundhaug, “Begotten, Not Made, to Arise in This Flesh: The Post-Nicene Soteriology of the Gospel of Philip,” in *Beyond the Gnostic Gospels: Studies Building on the Work of Elaine Pagels*, ed. Iricinschi et al. (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 235–71. Most previous studies have dated the text to the second or third centuries. For references, see, e.g., Hugo Lundhaug, *Images of Rebirth: Cognitive Poetics and Transformational Soteriology in the Gospel of Philip and the Exegesis on the Soul* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 357–74.

8 See Hugo Lundhaug, “An Illusion of Textual Stability: Textual Fluidity, New Philology, and the Nag Hammadi Codices,” in *Snapshots of Evolving Traditions: Jewish and Christian Manuscript Culture, Textual Fluidity, and New Philology*, ed. Liv Ingeborg Lied and Hugo Lundhaug (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2017), 20–54; and also Hugo Lundhaug and Liv Ingeborg Lied, “Studying Snapshots: On Manuscript Culture, Textual Fluidity, and New Philology,” *Snapshots of Evolving Traditions: Jewish and Christian Manuscript Culture, Textual Fluidity, and New Philology*, ed. Liv Ingeborg Lied and Hugo Lundhaug (TU 175; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2017), 1–19.

# 1 The Gospel of Philip and Scriptural Exegesis

The Gospel of Philip is a text that is practically impossible for a reader to understand without knowledge of canonical Scripture. It is deeply engaged in scriptural exegesis, and alludes to a wide range of biblical texts.<sup>9</sup> Aside from its many references to the first chapters of Genesis,<sup>10</sup> an intertext which is also highly important in other texts in this manuscript,<sup>11</sup> references to New Testament texts are far more prominent than are those to the Old Testament,<sup>12</sup> and although allusions that may be more or less opaque to different readers are the norm, with many “echoes which may appear significant to one scholar yet unimportant, or even non-existent, to another,”<sup>13</sup> there are also some “clear and unmistakable quotations” of New Testament texts.<sup>14</sup> Indeed, scholars have been hard pressed to find New Testament texts that are not alluded to in the Gospel of Philip.<sup>15</sup> The

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9 Despite never introducing Scriptural quotations and paraphrases by explicitly stating their source, anyone with a knowledge of Scripture should recognize *Gos. Phil.*’s dependence on it.

10 See, e.g., Eric Segelberg, “The Gospel of Philip and the New Testament,” in *The New Testament and Gnosis: Essays in Honour of Robert McL. Wilson*, ed. Alastair H. B. Logan and Alexander J. M. Wedderburn (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1983), 204; Lundhaug, *Images of Rebirth* (n. 7); id., “The Fruit of the Tree of Life: Ritual Interpretation of the Crucifixion in the Gospel of Philip” in *Cognitive Linguistic Explorations in Biblical Studies*, ed. Bonnie G. Howe and Joel B. Green (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2014), 73–97.

11 On the importance of the first chapters of Genesis in Codex II as a whole, see Lance Jenott, “Recovering Adam’s Lost Glory: Nag Hammadi Codex II in its Egyptian Monastic Environment,” in *Jewish and Christian Cosmogony in Late Antiquity*, ed. Lance Jenott and Sarit Kattan Gribetz (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 222–43.

12 These span the entire New Testament from the Gospels to Revelation. See, e.g., Robert McL. Wilson, *The Gospel of Philip: Translated from the Coptic Text, with an Introduction and Commentary* (London: Mowbray, 1962), 7; id., “The New Testament in the Nag Hammadi Gospel of Philip,” *NTS* 9 (1963): 291–94; Lundhaug, *Images of Rebirth* (n.7).

13 Wilson, *Gospel of Philip* (n. 12), 6. Cf. Earl Miner’s striking definition of allusion as “a phenomenon that some reader or readers may fail to observe” (“Allusion,” in *The New Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics*, ed. Alex Preminger and T. V. F. Brogan [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993], 39). As Wilson puts it, the Gospel of Philip usually works its references “into the context as if [the author] were a man steeped in the Scriptures, to whom their language and phrases came as a natural vehicle for the expression of his ideas” (Wilson, *Gospel of Philip* [n. 12], 7).

14 Wilson, *Gospel of Philip* (n. 12), 6; cf. Segelberg, “Gospel of Philip and the New Testament (n. 10),” 205–6.

15 Wilson, *Gospel of Philip* (n. 12), 7, mentions Ephesians, Colossians, and Thessalonians as among the few texts to which he could not detect references, while Gaffron, *Studien zum koptischen Philippusevangelium unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Sakramente* (Bonn: Rheinischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität, 1969), 54–55, 59, finds no evidence for the use of Acts,

gospels are of primary importance. It was noted very early in Nag Hammadi scholarship that among the canonical gospels, the Gospel of Philip uses especially the Gospels of Matthew and John,<sup>16</sup> although the Gospel of Luke is also referenced at key points in the text.<sup>17</sup> The Gospel of John nevertheless stands out above all other New Testament texts in importance, as we may observe not only from the most clear citations and allusions, but also from a number of themes and interests that run through the entire Gospel of Philip.<sup>18</sup>

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the Pastoral or Catholic Epistles, or Revelation. In my own studies I have identified references to most of these texts as well (see Lundhaug, *Images of Rebirth* [n.7]). I know of only one scholar who has claimed that the Gospel of Philip is independent of the canonical gospels (Richard N. Longenecker, *The Christology of Early Jewish Christianity* [London: SCM Press, 1970], 82).

**16** Robert M. Grant, "Two Gnostic Gospels," *JBL* 79:1 (1960): 5. See also Wilson, *Gospel of Philip* (n. 12), 7. For the view that *Gos. Phil.* shows a clear preference for Matthew among the Synoptics, see, e.g., Wilson, "New Testament (n. 12)," 291–94; Gaffron, *Studien* (n. 15), 32–54; Segelberg, "Gospel of Philip and the New Testament (n. 10)," 205. For the preference for Matthew and John, see Christopher M. Tuckett, *Nag Hammadi and the Gospel Tradition: Synoptic Tradition in the Nag Hammadi Library*, ed. John Riches (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1986), 81 n. 295; id., "Synoptic Traditions in Some Nag Hammadi and Related Texts," *VC* 36:2 (1982): 173–90, esp. 177–78; Wilson, *Gospel of Philip* (n. 12), 7; id., "New Testament (n. 12)," 291.

**17** In addition to several reasonably clear allusions to Luke, there is even a direct reference to the parable of the Good Samaritan (*Gos. Phil.* 78.7–10, referring to Luke 10:34). For the opposing view that all references except for that to the parable of the Good Samaritan can be explained as deriving from Matthew rather than Luke, see Tuckett, *Nag Hammadi* (n. 16), 81. Tuckett even expresses doubts that *Gos. Phil.* has derived its reference to the Good Samaritan directly from the Gospel of Luke, and suggests that it might just as well have known the parable independently of the complete gospel (*ibid.*, 80). See also *ibid.*, 74, and id., "Synoptic Traditions (n. 16)," 178.

**18** In the following I will not cover all the passages in *Gos. Phil.* that allude to the Gospel of John, nor to all Johannine passages alluded to in *Gos. Phil.*, but I will concentrate on those parts of *Gos. Phil.* that presuppose the Johannine principle of mutual indwelling between the Father and the Son, and the way in which John underlies *Gos. Phil.*'s mystagogy. For references to other Johannine passages that may be alluded to in *Gos. Phil.*, see, e.g., Gaffron, *Studien* (n. 15), 40–43, 52–54; Wolfgang G. Röhl, *Die Rezeption des Johannesevangeliums in christlich-gnostischen Schriften aus Nag Hammadi* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1991), 146–63; Titus Nagel, *Die Rezeption des Johannesevangeliums im 2. Jahrhundert: Studien zur vorirenäischen Aneignung des vierten Evangeliums in christlich-gnostischer Literatur* (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2000), 394–407; Lorne Zelyck, *John Among the Other Gospels* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 104–21, although one may or may not agree with these authors' assessments regarding *Gos. Phil.*'s Johannine reception.

## 2 John 3 and Rebirth Through Ritual

One of the areas in which the Gospel of Philip draws fundamentally upon the Gospel of John is in its mystagogical exegesis and exposition of the deeper meaning of baptism, chrismation, and Eucharist. First of all, the Gospel of Philip’s main underlying understanding of the rituals of initiation in terms of rebirth is based on John 3. Just like Jesus makes clear in John 3:7 that it is necessary to be reborn,<sup>19</sup> the Gospel of Philip emphasizes the necessity of rebirth through ritual initiation, even though such rituals can only represent an imperfect image of true rebirth:

There is a rebirth [οὐχ ἄπο ἡ κεκοι] and an image of rebirth [οὐχ ἰκὼν ἄπο ἡ κεκοι]. It is truly necessary to be born again [ἀπογεννηθῆναι ἡ κεκοι] by means of the image [εἰκὼν]! (Gos. Phil. 67.12–14)<sup>20</sup>

The reason why the image is necessary, despite its secondary status, is because “Truth did not come to the world naked, but in types and images [εἰκόνες καὶ τύποις],”<sup>21</sup> because this is the only way in which the world will receive the truth.<sup>22</sup> The image of rebirth is to be understood as ritual initiation consisting of baptism in water, anointing with chrism<sup>23</sup> and the sign of the cross (“the power of the cross”), where one acquires not only the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, but also the realities underlying them, thus becoming not only “a Christian,” but even “a Christ.”<sup>24</sup> This enables entry into the truth, which is equated with heavenly rest, but it is also made clear that heavenly existence is not only attainable after death, or after the general resurrection, but already in this world. When one “has already received the truth in the images,”<sup>25</sup> one can no longer be troubled in this world,<sup>26</sup> for “the world has become the aeons.”<sup>27</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Note that in Coptic, John 3:7, where δεῖ ὑμᾶς γεννηθῆναι ἄνωθεν is translated as εἰκὼν ἐκ νεκρῶν, can only be interpreted in terms of a rebirth, not as a birth from above.

<sup>20</sup> All translations of the Gospel of Philip are my own, based on the Coptic text of Lundhaug, *Images of Rebirth* (n.7), 468–539. For references to earlier editions of the text, see *ibid.*, 155–56.

<sup>21</sup> Gos. Phil. 67.9–11.

<sup>22</sup> Gos. Phil. 67.11–12.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Eric Segelberg, “The Coptic-Gnostic Gospel According to Philip and Its Sacramental System,” *Numen* 7:2 (1960): 194.

<sup>24</sup> Gos. Phil. 67.19–27.

<sup>25</sup> Gos. Phil. 86.12–13.

<sup>26</sup> Gos. Phil. 86.9–11.

The Gospel of Philip's fondness for John 3's metaphor of rebirth is also on display when the text expresses its opposition to a conceptualization of baptism using the Romans 6-based metaphor of death and resurrection:

As Jesus perfected [Ⲭⲱⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ] the water [ⲡⲏⲙⲟⲩ] of baptism,  
 thus he poured out [ⲡⲱⲭⲧ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ] death [ⲡⲏⲙⲟⲩ].  
 Therefore we go down into the water [ⲡⲏⲙⲟⲩ],  
 but we do not go down into death [ⲡⲏⲙⲟⲩ] (*Gos. Phil.* 77.7–11)

With this play on the Coptic words ⲙⲟⲟⲩ and ⲙⲟⲩ, meaning “water” and “death” respectively, the Gospel of Philip argues that the descent into the water should not be understood as descent into death.<sup>28</sup> In order for baptism to constitute a rebirth, however, an anointing with chrism is required. The Gospel of Philip here alludes to John 3:3–9 to establish a close connection between baptism and chrismation, which is referred to or presupposed on numerous occasions throughout the text. John 3:3–9 stresses the importance of being reborn through both water and spirit, and in the Gospel of Philip this is to be understood as baptism and chrismation.<sup>29</sup> Following John 3:5, the Gospel of Philip makes clear that both baptism in water and chrismation (the Holy Spirit) are necessary, and interprets the process in terms of begetting and (re)birth.<sup>30</sup> This is again directly linked to Jesus' baptism in the river Jordan, in which all these aspects are closely connected. There is indeed a pervasive parallelism throughout the Gospel of Philip between Christ and the individual Christian. This includes baptism. They are both baptized in water and receive the Holy Spirit by means of an anointing. This anointing is connected to joining, begetting, and rebirth.

<sup>27</sup> *Gos. Phil.* 86.13. This notion of heavenly existence already in this world is highly similar to what we also find in early Egyptian monastic writings. See, e.g., Samuel Rubenson, “‘As Already Translated to the Kingdom While Still in the Body’: The Transformation of the Ascetic in Early Egyptian Monasticism,” in *Metamorphoses: Resurrection, Body and Transformative Practices in Early Christianity*, ed. Turid Karlsen Seim and Jorunn Økland (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2009), 271–89.

<sup>28</sup> On this Coptic wordplay, see Lundhaug, “An Illusion of Textual Stability (n. 8),” 44–46; Lundhaug, *Images of Rebirth* (n.7), 231–33.

<sup>29</sup> See *Gos. Phil.* 69.12–14.

<sup>30</sup> See *Gos. Phil.* 69.4–8.



### 3 John 1 and The Mystery of Baptism and The Incarnation

Indeed, the Gospel of Philip’s preference for the metaphor of rebirth is evident in its description of Jesus’ own baptism in the Jordan. Drawing primarily on the Gospel of Luke for its narrative details,<sup>31</sup> the Gospel of Philip crucially relies upon the Gospel of John for its interpretation of the event:

He who [was begotten] before all things was begotten again. He [who was anointed] first was anointed again. He who was redeemed, redeemed again. Indeed it is fitting to speak of a mystery. The Father of all things joined with the virgin who came down, and a fire illuminated him. On that day he revealed the great bridal chamber. Therefore his body came into being. On that day he came out from the bridal chamber like the one who came into being from the bridegroom and the bride. Thus Jesus established everything within himself through these, and it is appropriate for each one of the disciples to walk into his rest. (Gos. Phil. 70.34–71.15)

This is a highly allusive and difficult passage. The setting is Jesus’ baptism, but who are “the virgin who came down [παρθένος ἤταλει ἀπὸ τῆς]” and “the father of all things [πατὴρ πάντων]”? And what exactly is “the great bridal chamber [ἡ μεγάλη ἑσπαστος]”? The references to begetting and the use of the phrase “on that day” (ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ) recalls the widespread early variant reading of Luke 3:22, “today I have begotten thee” (ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγεννηκά σε),<sup>32</sup> a phrase that is not found in the parallel accounts in Matthew or Mark,<sup>33</sup> nor in the Gospel of John’s more vague reference to Jesus’ baptism.<sup>34</sup>

The descent of the Holy Spirit as a dove, however, is referred to in all the gospels, including the Gospel of John,<sup>35</sup> and numerous imaginative suggestions

<sup>31</sup> Luke 3:21–22.

<sup>32</sup> Gos. Phil.’s dependence on this variant reading has been noted by David H. Tripp, “The ‘Sacramental System’ of the Gospel of Philip,” in *Studia Patristica 17: The 8th International Conference on Patristic Studies met in Oxford from 3 to 8 Sept. 1979*, ed. Elisabeth A. Livingstone (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1982), 254–255. This reading of Luke 3:22 is found in Codex Bezae and a number of early patristic witnesses. For an argument that this is probably the more original reading of the passage, see Bart D. Ehrman, *The Orthodox Corruption of Scripture: The Effect of Early Christological Controversies on the Text of the New Testament* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 62–67.

<sup>33</sup> Matt 3:13–17, Mark 1:9–11.

<sup>34</sup> See John 1:31–33.

<sup>35</sup> Matt 3:16; Mark 1:10; Luke 3:22; John 1:32.

based upon a reading of the Gospel of Philip as a “Valentinian” text notwithstanding,<sup>36</sup> it makes most sense to understand the Gospel of Philip’s description of a descent of “the virgin” in this context as a reference to the Holy Spirit descending upon Jesus at his baptism.<sup>37</sup> The description of the Holy Spirit as a virgin also makes sense in light of the Gospel of Philip as a whole. As is explained

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**36** I do not think there are any compelling reasons to treat *Gos. Phil.* as a “Valentinian Text.” The text makes good sense without interpreting it through the lens of “Valentinian” theologoumena. See Lundhaug, *Images of Rebirth* (n.7), 349–56.

**37** This is also the view of Elaine H. Pagels, “Adam and Eve, Christ and the Church: A Survey of Second Century Controversies Concerning Marriage,” in *The New Testament and Gnosis: Essays in Honour of Robert McL. Wilson*, ed. Alastair H. B. Logan and Alexander J. M. Wedderburn (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1983), 164, and eadem, “Ritual in the Gospel of Philip,” in *The Nag Hammadi Library After Fifty Years: Proceedings of the 1995 Society of Biblical Literature Commemoration*, ed. John D. Turner and Anne McGuire (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 285. For interpretations based on a “Valentinian” reading of the text, see e.g., Holger Strutwolf, *Gnosis als System: Zur Rezeption der valentinianischen Gnosis bei Origenes* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993), 177; Jean-Daniel Kaestli, “Valentinisme italien et valentinisme oriental: leurs divergences a propos de la nature du corps de Jesus,” in *The School of Valentinus*, ed. Bentley Layton (Leiden: Brill, 1980), 399; Einar Thomassen, *The Spiritual Seed: The Church of the ‘Valentinians’* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 92, who all suggest Sophia; Hans-Martin Schenke, “Das Evangelium nach Philippus: Ein Evangelium der Valentinianer aus dem Funde von Nag-Hamadi,” *TLZ* 84:1 (1959): 17 n. 154; id., “Das Evangelium nach Philippus: Ein Evangelium der Valentinianer aus dem Funde von Nag-Hamadi,” in *Koptisch-gnostische Schriften aus den Papyrus-Codices von Nag-Hamadi* (Hamburg-Bergstedt: Herbert Reich, 1960), 53 n. 11; id., *Das Philippus-Evangelium (Nag-Hammadi-Codex II,3): Neu herausgegeben, übersetzt und erklärt* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1997), 419; Jean-Marie Sevrin, “Les noces spirituelles dans l’Évangile selon Philippe,” *Mus* 87 (1974): 160; Majella Franzmann, *Jesus in the Nag Hammadi Writings* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1996), 50–51; Herbert Schmid, *Die Eucharistie ist Jesus: Anfänge einer Theorie des Sakraments im koptischen Philippusevangelium (NHC II 3)* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 311, who hold it to be Sophia Achamoth; Yvonne Janssens, “L’Évangile selon Philippe,” *Mus* 81 (1968): 109, who suggests Sophia-Mary Magdalene; Wilson, *Gospel of Philip* (n. 12), 146, and Jacques-É. Ménard, *L’Évangile selon Philippe: Introduction, Texte – Traduction, Commentaire*. (Strasbourg: Université de Strasbourg, 1967), 202, who think it refers to the Virgin Mary; and Jorunn Jacobsen Buckley and Deirdre J. Good, “Sacramental Language and Verbs of Generating, Creating, and Begetting in the Gospel of Philip,” *J ECS* 5:1 (1997): 17, who suggest “the heavenly Mary.” The most imaginative alternative based on a “Valentinian” reading, however, is that of Einar Thomassen, “How Valentinian is the Gospel of Philip?” in *The Nag Hammadi Library After Fifty Years: Proceedings of the 1995 Society of Biblical Literature Commemoration*, ed. John D. Turner and Anne McGuire (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 257, who suggests Jesus. Thomassen has later suggested that “the virgin who came down” is primarily Sophia (see Thomassen, *The Spiritual Seed* [n. 37], 92), but also “the Saviour ... cast in the role of the female partner and bride in the marital union” (see *ibid.*, 98). Most of these suggestions is based on a reading of *Gos. Phil.* as a “Valentinian” text. As I have argued elsewhere, however, it is not necessary to interpret *Gos. Phil.* in light of “Valentinian” theologoumena (see Lundhaug, *Images of Rebirth* (n.7), 349–56; id., “Begotten, Not Made (n. 7),” 270–71).

elsewhere in the text, the Holy Spirit is not only regarded as a female entity,<sup>38</sup> but is even described as one of Adam’s two virgin mothers in an important exegesis of Gen 2:7:

Adam came into being from two virgins: from the spirit and from the virgin earth. Therefore Christ was born from a virgin, so that he might rectify the fall that happened in the beginning. (*Gos. Phil.* 71.16–21)

The designation “the virgin who came down” is therefore a fitting reference to the descent of the Holy Spirit at the Jordan, where Christ receives his second virgin mother so as to render him the perfect parallel to Adam. Just like Adam had the spirit and the virgin earth as his mothers, Christ has the Virgin Mary and the Holy Spirit. He acquired the latter at his baptism, and all subsequent Christian initiates receive it at their baptismal (or postbaptismal) anointing with chrism. Christ being born from a virgin not only at his birth, but also at his baptism also makes sense in light of the Gospel of John’s references to being born of the Spirit.<sup>39</sup>

Once “the virgin who came down” has been identified as the Holy Spirit coming down upon Jesus at his baptism, “the father of all things,” who joins with that virgin, can be none other than Christ himself, despite a multitude of more or less imaginative alternative suggestions based on “Valentinian” theology.<sup>40</sup> While some scholars have regarded as impossible the designation “the father of all things” (πατρις ὅλων) for Christ, rather than for God or the Demiurge, it actually makes perfect sense in light of the prologue of the Gospel of John and Alexandrian theology. John 1:3 states of the Logos that “It was through him that everything [πάντα] came into being,” which makes it clear that for the Gospel of John he is to be regarded as the creator of all things. Moreover, Christ the Logos is indeed frequently referred to as “the Father of all things” in the Alex-

<sup>38</sup> See *Gos. Phil.* 55.23–27.

<sup>39</sup> John 3:5–8.

<sup>40</sup> Such suggestions have included the Father (see Franzmann, *Jesus in the Nag Hammadi Writings* [n. 37], 50); the supreme aeon (see Wilson, *Gospel of Philip* [n. 12], 146; Ménard, *L’Évangile selon Philippe* [n. 37], 202; see also Strutwolf, *Gnosis als System* [n. 37], 177, who ultimately rejects it); Christ (see Franzmann, *Jesus in the Nag Hammadi Writings* [n. 37], 50); the Saviour (see Schenke, “Das Evangelium nach Philippus [n. 37],” 17 n.153; id., “Das Evangelium nach Philippus [n. 37],” 53 n.10; Schenke, *Das Philippus-Evangelium* [n. 37], 419; Janssens, “L’Évangile selon Philippe [n. 37],” 109; Sevrin, “Les noces spirituelles [n. 37],” 160; Strutwolf, *Gnosis als System* [n. 37], 177; Franzmann, *Jesus in the Nag Hammadi Writings* [n. 37], 50; Schmid, *Die Eucharistie ist Jesus* [n. 37], 311); the Logos-Saviour (see Kaestli, “Valentinisme [n. 37],” 399; Ménard, *L’Évangile selon Philippe* [n. 37], 202); the pleromatic Father (Thomassen, “How Valentinian [n. 37],” 257).

andrian and Egyptian tradition, including in Coptic sources. The powerful fourth- to fifth-century archimandrite Shenoute of Atripe, for example, describes him using the exact same Coptic phrase that we find in the Gospel of Philip, namely as “the Father of all things” (ⲡⲉⲓⲱⲧ ⲙⲓⲡⲓⲧⲏⲣⲉ).<sup>41</sup>

As for the language of joining, begetting, and bridal chamber, it is worth recalling that joining and begetting are actions that are descriptive of the practice of human sexual relations. It is therefore logical when the Gospel of Philip associates these actions with baptism and baptismal anointing by way of the metaphor of the bridal chamber.<sup>42</sup> Significantly, the Gospel of Philip not only states that Jesus’ body came into being at his baptism, but it also describes the event as an opening, or manifestation, of “the great bridal chamber [ⲡⲓⲛⲟⲥ ⲙⲓⲡⲁⲥⲧⲟⲥ].”<sup>43</sup> The metaphor of the “bridal chamber” must here be understood in light of the joining of the Holy Spirit and the Logos, but also with the begetting of Christ’s body that results from it. As the Gospel of Philip puts it, “-it was because of this that his body came into being.”<sup>44</sup> It is therefore logical that his baptism can be understood and described metaphorically as a bridal chamber.<sup>45</sup> The statement that Christ’s body came into being in his baptism “like the one who came into being from the bridegroom and the bride” also highlights the parallelism between his first begetting and birth, and his baptismal begetting and rebirth. This is again understandable in terms of Christ’s use of the metaphor of rebirth in his dialogue with Nicodemus in chapter 3 of the Gospel of John,<sup>46</sup> as well as the bride-and-bridegroom references later in the same chapter.<sup>47</sup> As for the enigmatic statement that “a fire illuminated [ⲡⲣⲟϥⲟⲓⲛ] him” at the time of the union between the Holy Spirit

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<sup>41</sup> See Shenoute, *The Lord Thundered* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1907–14), 1:368. Elsewhere, Shenoute also refers to the Son as the “creator of all things” (ⲡⲁⲛⲏⲙⲓⲟⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲙⲓⲡⲓⲧⲏⲣⲉ) (Shenoute, *I Am Amazed*, 329=HB 25; Hans-Joachim Cristea, *Schenute von Atripe: Contra Origenistas: Edition des koptischen Textes mit annotierter Übersetzung und Indizes einschließlich einer Übersetzung des 16. Osterfestbriefs des Theophilus in der Fassung des Hieronymus* [ep. 96] [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011], 146).

<sup>42</sup> See *Gos. Phil.* 67:3–6; 69:4–8; 70:5–9; 74.18–24; 86:4–5; cf. Lundhaug, *Images of Rebirth* (n.7), 203–7; 247–49.

<sup>43</sup> Suggestions have included the Pleroma (see Wilson, *Gospel of Philip* [n. 12], 147), and the Virgin Mary (see Sebastian P. Brock, “Passover, Annunciation and Epiclesis: Some Remarks on the Term Aggen in the Syriac Versions of Lk. 1:35,” *NovT* 24:3 [1982]: 228).

<sup>44</sup> *Gos. Phil.* 71.8.

<sup>45</sup> Elsewhere the Gospel of Philip also uses bridal chamber as a metaphor for the body of both Christ and the Christians (see Lundhaug, *Images of Rebirth* (n.7), 263–65; 321–24).

<sup>46</sup> John 3:1–15.

<sup>47</sup> John 3:25–30.

and the Logos,<sup>48</sup> the interpretive key is to be found in John 1:4, which states that “that which came into being within him was life, and life was the light [φῶς] of men.”

All of this is important not only as an exegesis of the Jordan event itself, but even more so in relation to the understanding of the deeper meaning and significance of the rites of initiation through which all Christians had to pass. The version of those rites presupposed by the Gospel of Philip clearly involved baptism with water and anointing with chrism, followed by Eucharistic communion, and the text makes sure to emphasize that it is not sufficient just to baptize in water, with no subsequent anointing. Baptism must be accompanied by an anointing with chrism, since the joining with the Holy Spirit takes place by means of this particular ritual action. The connection between the anointing and light on the one hand, and between the anointing and baptism on the other, is explicitly stated:

It was from water and fire that the soul and the spirit came into being. It was from water and fire and light that the son of the bridal chamber (came into being).<sup>49</sup> The fire is the chrism, the light is the fire. (*Gos. Phil.* 67.2–6)

Water, fire, and light are the elements needed in order to generate a “son of the bridal chamber,” and both fire and light are associated with the chrism. The description of fire illuminating Jesus at his baptism, where the Logos joined with the Holy Spirit and “his body came into being,”<sup>50</sup> is thus also an allusion to baptismal chrismation,<sup>51</sup> and light is an attribute of the Holy Spirit.<sup>52</sup> Simply put, when Christ was baptized in the Jordan he was also anointed with the Holy Spirit, and this also applies not only to Christ himself, but to every Christian going through the rituals of initiation. And as the Gospel of Philip explains, it is by

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<sup>48</sup> *Gos. Phil.* 71.4–6. This union is also referred to as “a mystery [οὐ μυστήριον]” (*Gos. Phil.* 71.3–4).

<sup>49</sup> Cf. Matt 9:15; Mark 2:19; Luke 5:34.

<sup>50</sup> See *Gos. Phil.* 71:6–8.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. Thomassen, *The Spiritual Seed* (n. 37), 94. Pagels takes the reference to “his body” here to indicate the church as the body of Christ (Pagels, “Adam and Eve [n. 37],” 164). The connection between fire and chrism is also made elsewhere in *The Gospel of Philip*: “It is by means of water and fire that everything is purified, the revealed by means of the revealed, the hidden by means of the hidden. There are some things that are hidden by means of the revealed. There is water in water, there is fire in chrism” (*Gos. Phil.* 57.22–28).

<sup>52</sup> For the connection between the Holy Spirit and fire, see not only Matt 3:11 = Luke 3:16, and Acts 2:3–4 but also John 1:33 in certain manuscripts (including P75 and the Sahidic manuscripts. This verse is unfortunately not preserved in the early Bohairic P. Bodmer III).

means of the anointing in particular that these rites bring about some of their most profound effects – effects that are understandable first of all in light of the Gospel of John:

He who has been anointed has everything. He has the resurrection, the light, the cross, the Holy Spirit. The Father gave him this in the bridal chamber (νυμφών). He received, and the Father came to be in the Son and the Son in the Father. (*Gos. Phil.* 74.18–24)

This recalls especially John 10:38, “the Father is in me and I am in the Father,”<sup>53</sup> and John 14:10 and 14:11, “I am in the Father and the Father is in me.”<sup>54</sup> For the Gospel of Philip, this mutual indwelling is effected by means of the anointing. This is where, and how, Christ and subsequently the individual Christians receive “everything” (πᾶν). In his own baptism, “Jesus established everything [πᾶν] within himself,”<sup>55</sup> and “everything” includes the Father as well as the Holy Spirit. The reception of the latter is also referred to, and directly associated with the metaphor of the bridal chamber, towards the end of the text, where we are told that “If one becomes a son of the bridal chamber [πνυμφών], he will receive the light.”<sup>56</sup> The mutual indwelling of the Father and the Son, as stated multiple times throughout the Gospel of John, is also directly stated elsewhere in the Gospel of Philip, where it is asserted that “Christ has everything within himself, whether man or angel or mystery and the Father.”<sup>57</sup> The Gospel of John is not the only important intertext here, as there is also a significant nod to Col 2:9, that “in him all the fullness of divinity dwells in bodily form,” but it is certainly difficult to imagine without the Gospel of John as a major referent.

## 4 John 6 and the Eucharist

The Gospel of John is not only fundamental to the Gospel of Philip’s mystagogical interpretation of baptism and chrismation, but also to its understanding of the Eucharist. In all cases, understanding the way in which ritual action, by means of earthly imagery and actions, conveys the higher realities is a central concern. In this world, the Gospel of Philip informs us, truth is only reachable

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<sup>53</sup> Cf. Nagel, *Die Rezeption* (n. 18), 405–6.

<sup>54</sup> But cf. also John 10:30; 14:7, 9–11, 20; 17:21, 23.

<sup>55</sup> *Gos. Phil.* 71.12–13.

<sup>56</sup> *Gos. Phil.* 86.4–5; cf. *Gos. Phil.* 67.3–5; Matt 9:15; Mark 2:19; Luke 5:34.

<sup>57</sup> *Gos. Phil.* 56.13–15.

by means of “types and images” [ἡνῆγετος ἡνῆρικων],”<sup>58</sup> and this fact explains the importance of ritual. In the Eucharist, like in baptism and chrismation, one must receive the truth by means of “the images,” because if truth is not received here on earth, it will not be attained in heaven: “If one does not receive it while being here, he will not be able to receive it in the other place.”<sup>59</sup> With regard to the Eucharist, the Gospel of Philip closely paraphrases John 6:53–54<sup>60</sup> when explaining its central mystery:

“He who will not eat my flesh and drink my blood does not have life in him.”<sup>61</sup> What is it? His flesh is the Logos, and his blood is the Holy Spirit. (Gos. Phil. 574–7)

In this mystagogical exegesis of John, the significance and effects of the Eucharist<sup>62</sup> is presented by means of an interpretation of Jesus’ words in John 6:53–54,<sup>63</sup> together with the specification of the nature of Christ’s flesh utilizing an allusion to John 1:14a: “the Word became flesh.” Thus the flesh of the Son of Man, referred to in John 6, is directly identified with the preexistent Logos of John 1. Added to this is the identification of Christ’s blood with the Holy Spirit, which must be understood in light of the multitude of associated aspects of the Holy Spirit throughout the Gospel of Philip, including its sacramental association with both the chrism and the Eucharistic wine.<sup>64</sup> It is also worth noting that the Gospel of Philip’s paraphrase of John 6:53–54 follows directly after a

<sup>58</sup> Gos. Phil. 679–11.

<sup>59</sup> Gos. Phil. 86.6–7.

<sup>60</sup> While Gos. Phil. sticks closely to John 6:53, it also incorporates parts of 6:54. See Gaffron, *Studien* (n. 15), 40–41; Nagel, *Die Rezeption* (n. 18), 397. Among the early Coptic New Testament manuscripts, Gos. Phil. is here closest to P. Bodmer III.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. John 6:53–54.

<sup>62</sup> For the view that this passage refers to the Eucharist, see, e.g., Wesley W. Isenberg, “The Coptic Gospel According to Philip” (Ph.D. diss. University of Chicago, 1968), 197, 306; Gaffron, *Studien* (n. 15), 180; Bentley Layton, *The Gnostic Scriptures: A New Translation with Annotations and Introductions* (London: SCM Press, 1987), 333; Schenke, *Das Philippus-Evangelium* (n. 37), 234. Borchert, however, “finds it rather doubtful that this logion has a sacramental emphasis,” on the grounds that the flesh and blood are identified with the Logos and the Holy Spirit (Gerald Leo Borchert, “An Analysis of the Literary Arrangement and Theological Views in the Coptic Gnostic Gospel of Philip” [Ph.D. diss. Princeton Theological Seminary, 1967], 126 n.4); Thomassen argues both for and against a Eucharistic interpretation of the passage (see Thomassen, *The Spiritual Seed* [n. 37], 349 and 345 respectively); cf. also Jean-Marie Sevrin, “Pratique et doctrine des sacrements dans l’Évangile selon Philippe” (Ph.D. diss. Université Catholique de Louvain, 1972).

<sup>63</sup> This Johannine intertext establishes a clear Eucharistic setting for this section in Gos. Phil. (cf. Strutwolf, *Gnosis als System* [n. 37], 195; Schenke, *Das Philippus-Evangelium* [n. 37], 234).

<sup>64</sup> In addition to blood, the Holy Spirit is associated with life, light, fire, breath, wind, motherhood, and virginity. See Lundhaug, *Images of Rebirth* (n.7), 175.

quotation of 1 Cor 15:50, in a polemic against those who believe in the resurrection of the material flesh:<sup>65</sup>

“Flesh [and blood shall] not inherit the kingdom [of God].” What is this that shall not inherit? (It is) this which is on us. But what also is this that shall inherit? It is Jesus’ (flesh) and his blood. Therefore he said, “He who will not eat my flesh and drink my blood does not have life in him.” (*Gos. Phil.* 56.32–57.5)

In this way, resurrection is intimately connected with the Eucharist. It is not the material flesh and blood, “this which is on us” (ταῖς ἐπιωδῶν),<sup>66</sup> that shall inherit the kingdom of God, but rather the flesh and blood of Christ,<sup>67</sup> and the flesh and blood of Christ is provided to the initiated by means of the Eucharist. Indeed, as the Gospel of Philip makes clear through its use of Jesus’ words paraphrased from John 6:53–54, it is necessary to consume his flesh and blood, otherwise one does not possess life. It is significant that this process is described in terms of the metaphor of clothing:

“He who will not eat my flesh and drink my blood has not life in him.” What is it? His flesh is the Logos, and his blood is the Holy Spirit. He who has received these has food, and he has drink and clothing. (*Gos. Phil.* 57.3–8)

Participating in the Eucharist provides the Christians with the clothes they need to avoid arising naked. The Gospel of Philip thus implies that the correct garments, or the perfect man, are put on not only in baptism, but also in the Eucha-

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<sup>65</sup> A. H. C. van Eijk has argued that “by linking the flesh and blood in 1 Cor 15:50 with the flesh and blood of John 6:53–56,” the Gospel of Philip “offers an interesting and original interpretation” of 1 Cor 15:50 (Eijk, “The Gospel of Philip and Clement of Alexandria: Gnostic and Ecclesiastical Theology on the Resurrection and the Eucharist,” *VC* 25 [1971]: 96). He found this interpretation to be original “because this surprising link appears nowhere in the Christian (incl. gnostic) literature on the resurrection up to the end of the third century” (*ibid.*). By combining John 6:53 with 1 Cor 15:50, van Eijk argues that the author made an original choice, ahead of his time, based simply on his reading of John 6 (*ibid.*, 101). It should be remembered, however, that *Gos. Phil.*’s interpretation is only original if we assume, with van Eijk, a second-century date *Gos. Phil.* If the text is rather a product of either the fourth or fifth century, as I am inclined to think, the combination of John 6:53 with 1 Cor 15:50 is not particularly original. For an argument for a fourth- or fifth-century date for the Gospel of Philip, see Lundhaug, “Begotten, Not Made (n. 7).”

<sup>66</sup> Cf. Schenke’s translation of *Gos. Phil.* 56.32–57.5 (Schenke, *Das Philippus-Evangelium* [n. 37], 25).

<sup>67</sup> Cf. Eijk, “*Gospel of Philip* (n. 65),” 96; Wesley W. Isenberg, “The Gospel According to Philip: Introduction,” in *Nag Hammadi Codex II, 2–7 Together with XIII, 2\*, Brit. Lib. Or. 4926(1), and P. Oxy. 1, 654, 655*, ed. Bentley Layton (Leiden: Brill, 1989), 1:136.



rist.<sup>68</sup> Through the Eucharistic bread the communicants receive Christ’s flesh, the Logos, and through the wine they receive his blood, the Holy Spirit. As we can see, the Gospel of Philip here adds what seems to be an allusion to Matt 6:25 and 31 to its paraphrase of John 6:53–55,<sup>69</sup> thus linking the garment metaphor – which is also employed elsewhere in connection with baptism and chrismation, the resurrection, and in allusions to the parable of the wedding feast – with the Eucharist. Clothing is also used metaphorically to describe the deification of the Christian, when the garments of this world are contrasted with those of the Kingdom of Heaven.<sup>70</sup>

The Gospel of Philip explains some of the types and images associated with the Eucharist, when it specifies, with further reference to the Gospel of John, that the Eucharistic cup contains a mixture of wine and water:

The cup of prayer contains wine and it contains water, for it is laid down as the type of the blood over which thanks is given. (*Gos. Phil.* 75.14–17)

While the “cup of prayer” can be seen as a reference to 1 Cor 10:16,<sup>71</sup> the mixture of wine and water<sup>72</sup> as an image of the blood of Jesus recalls John 19:34, which relates that when Jesus was pierced with a spear on the cross, there came out “blood and water.”<sup>73</sup> Wine and water is thus a type of Christ’s blood and water.<sup>74</sup>

## 5 John and the Name

The mutual indwelling of the Father and the Son, and the concept of fatherhood, is in the Gospel of Philip closely connected to baptism, and baptismal anointing,

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**68** Cf. Jorunn Jacobsen Buckley, “Conceptual Models and Polemical Issues in the Gospel of Philip,” in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, ed. Wolfgang Haase (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1988), 4177; Thomas M. Finn, *Early Christian Baptism and the Catechumenate: Italy, North Africa, and Egypt* (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1992), 10–11.

**69** See Tuckett, “Synoptic Traditions (n. 16),” 174; id., *Nag Hammadi* (n. 16), 74; Andrew K. Helmbold, “Translation Problems in the Gospel of Philip,” *NTS* 11 (1964): 91.

**70** See *Gos. Phil.* 57.19–22.

**71** Cf. Schenke, *Das Philippus-Evangelium* (n. 37), 61, 456.

**72** The mixture of wine and water in the Eucharistic cup became the norm in early Christianity. See Daniel Sheerin, “Eucharistic Liturgy,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Early Christian Studies*, ed. Susan Ashbrook Harvey and David G. Hunter (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 726.

**73** Cf. Craig Alan Satterlee, *Ambrose of Milan’s Method of Mystagogical Preaching* (Collegeville, Minn.: Pueblo/Liturgical Press, 2002), 244.

**74** Cf. also John 5:5–8.

by way of the concept of “the name of the father [πατρὶς ὀνομαζόμενος].” In order for the Son to attain fatherhood he must put on his Father’s name:

A single name is not uttered in the world, the name which the Father gave to the Son. It is exalted above every (other name), that is, the name of the Father. For the Son would not have become father unless he had put on the name of the Father. Those who have this name know it, but they do not speak it, but those who do not have it do not know it. (*Gos. Phil.* 54.5–13)

In the Gospel of Philip the reception of the name takes place in the chrismation: “it was because of the chrism that Christ was named (as such)” (ἵνα γὰρ χρίσματος ἐπεχρῆσθαι ἐστὶν ἐπεχρίσθη).<sup>75</sup> Similarly, “the name of the father and the son and the Holy Spirit,” are received by means of an anointing with chrism in the sign of the cross, and that the one who receives it becomes “no longer a [Christian], but a Christ.”<sup>76</sup> The Christian initiate becomes a Christ when he is anointed with chrism,<sup>77</sup> where he thereby acquires Sonship and attains the “name of the father.” The “name of the father” is here equivalent with the name “Christ,” which, as we have seen, connects Father and Son chrismation,<sup>78</sup> where the son becomes a Christ, like his father. The importance of receiving chrismation with baptism is emphasized, as well as the appropriation of the realities behind the ritual types and images:<sup>79</sup>

If one goes down to the water and comes up without having received anything and says, “I am a Christian,” he has borrowed the name at interest. But if he receives the Holy Spirit he has the gift of the name. He who has received a gift does not have it taken away from him, but he who has borrowed at interest has it extorted from him. Thus it is for us when one comes into being in a mystery. (*Gos. Phil.* 64.22–31)

The connection between the name of Christ and the bestowal of the Holy Spirit is also made in John 14:26, and while Rev 19:12 speaks of the name worn by Christ as being known only by Christ himself, in the Gospel of Philip, where the Christian is a Christ and which builds upon John 17 where Jesus reveals his hidden name to the disciples, the name is possessed by all Christians and known by

<sup>75</sup> *Gos. Phil.* 74.15–16.

<sup>76</sup> *Gos. Phil.* 67.23–27.

<sup>77</sup> Cf. e.g., Franzmann, *Jesus in the Nag Hammadi Writings* (n. 37), 63, 175.

<sup>78</sup> For patristic attestations of the connection between the chrismation and the name “Christ,” see, e.g., John Norman Davidson Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds* (3rd ed.; London: Longman, 1972), 139–41.

<sup>79</sup> Cf. 1 Cor 2:7.

them alone.<sup>80</sup> It is also significant for the understanding of the role of the name in connection with the bestowal of the spirit that Jesus says in John 4:26 that the Father will send the Holy Spirit in his name, i.e., in the name of Christ. And of course it is also significant how John 1:12 associates Sonship, and John 20:31 associates life with the name.

## 6 John 14 and Transformation Through Vision

I began this article with a quotation from John 14, where Philip asks Jesus to show him the Father. Philip's question is preceded by another question to Jesus, posed by Thomas, to which Philip's question is the follow-up:

“Lord, we do not know where you are going. How can we know the way?” Jesus said to him, “I am the way, and the truth, and the life. No one comes to the Father except through me. If you know me, you will know my Father also. From now on you do know him and have seen him.” (John 14:5–7; NRSV)

The notion that one gets to see the Father by seeing Christ is an important key to the interpretation of the Gospel of Philip, which tries to answer the question of how one may attain a vision of Christ in the first place. With reference to Gen 17:23–18:2 and Col 2:11 it is argued that a rejection of the flesh is required:

When Abraham [. . .] for him to see that which he would see, [he] circumcised the flesh of the foreskin, [telling] us that it is necessary to destroy the flesh. (*Gos. Phil.* 82.26–29)

For Abraham, the Gospel of Philip argues, circumcision was a precondition for seeing what he was going to see. The Gospel of Philip does not explicitly state that Abraham saw God, but in the Genesis-passage to which the Gospel of Philip alludes, Abraham's circumcision is followed by a vision of God in the form of “three men.”<sup>81</sup> This may again be understood in light of John 14, where it is clear that a vision of God can be obtained by seeing Christ, but also in light of John 8:56–58,<sup>82</sup> where Jesus strongly implies that he has been seen by Abraham, and where the early Coptic and several early Greek manuscripts, including manuscripts from the Dishna Papers discovery, have the variant reading where

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<sup>80</sup> *Gos. Phil.* 54:10–13; cf. John 14:17; 17:6–8.

<sup>81</sup> For Trinitarian interpretations of Gen 18:1–2 in patristic sources, see, e.g., James L. Kugel, *Traditions of the Bible: A Guide to the Bible as It Was at the Start of the Common Era* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1998), 342.

<sup>82</sup> The connection is also suggested by Schenke, *Das Philippus-Evangelium* (n. 37), 501.

the Jews ask Jesus whether Abraham has seen him, rather than the other way around.<sup>83</sup> Circumcision is not important in itself, but only as teaching the necessity of the destruction of “the flesh” (τσαρξ) – a clear allusion to Col 2:11, where the circumcision of Christ is associated with “the stripping off of the body of flesh” (πρωκαρνην ἡπσωμα ἡτσαρξ). “Flesh” is an ambiguous concept in the Gospel of Philip, but in this context it must be understood as the this-worldly material flesh, a point that is driven home in the Gospel of Philip’s discussion of the resurrection, where those who want to arise in the flesh are ridiculed, while the necessity of rising in the flesh of Christ is stressed.<sup>84</sup>

The Gospel of Philip closely associates vision and transformation, and the causal relationship works both ways. What happened in the transfiguration of Christ on the mountain, the Gospel of Philip tells us, was not that Jesus himself changed, but that he transformed those who saw him.<sup>85</sup> In order for the disciples to see him in his full glory on the mountain, Christ made them great, since people are only able to see him in accordance with their own abilities.<sup>86</sup> Therefore Christ’s glory, the Logos, was hidden from the disciples’ view until they were elevated to the appropriate level. This theme of seeing and becoming recurs in various guises throughout the Gospel of Philip, but with different twists. While one has to undergo transformation in order to see the higher realities, the causal relationship can also be reversed, with the one who sees becoming transformed into that which is seen:

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**83** John 8:57: “Abraham has seen you?” (ⲁⲃⲃⲣⲁⲗⲁⲙ ⲛⲉϥ ⲁⲣⲁⲕ [Qau codex]; ⲁⲃⲃⲣⲁⲗⲁⲙ ⲛⲁϥ ⲉⲣⲟⲕ [P. Palau Rib. Inv.-Nr. 183]; ⲁⲃⲃⲁⲗⲁⲙ ⲁϥⲛⲁϥ ⲉⲣⲟⲕ [P. Bodmer III]; Ἀβραὰμ ἑώρακεν σε [P75, and the original reading of ⲡ]). P75, P. Bodmer III, and perhaps even P. Palau Rib. Inv.-Nr. 183, were part of the Dishna papers discovery, made close to the site of the Nag Hammadi Codices only a few years later. On the circumstances and contents of this discovery, see esp. James M. Robinson, *The Story of the Bodmer Papyri: From the First Monastery’s Library in Upper Egypt to Genoa and Dublin* (Eugene, Or.: Cascade, 2011). On the possible relationship between the Dishna Papers and the Nag Hammadi Codices, see Hugo Lundhaug, “The Nag Hammadi Codices and the Dishna Papers,” in *The Nag Hammadi Codices and Late Antique Egypt*, ed. Hugo Lundhaug and Lance Jenott (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2018), forthcoming.

**84** *Gos. Phil.* 56.26–57.19. On *Gos. Phil.*’s views on the resurrection, see Hugo Lundhaug, “‘Tell me what shall arise’: Conflicting Notions of the Resurrection Body in Coptic Egypt,” in *Coming Back to Life: The Permeability of Past and Present, Mortality and Immortality, Death and Life in the Ancient Mediterranean*, ed. Frederick S. Tappenden and Carly Daniel-Hughes (Montreal: McGill University Library and Archives, 2017), 215–36; id., “Begotten, Not Made (n. 7).”

**85** *Gos. Phil.* 57.28–58.10; cf. Matt 17:1–9; Mark 9:2–10; Luke 9:28–36.

**86** The same principle was argued by Origen, *Comm. in Matt.* 12.37; cf. John Anthony McGuckin, *The Transfiguration of Christ in Scripture and Tradition* (Studies in the Bible and Early Christianity 9; Lewiston/Queenston: Edwin Mellen, 1986), 104, 154–57.

It is impossible for anyone to see any of the ordained (things) unless he becomes like them. It is not like it is with the man who is in the world. He sees the sun while not being sun, and he sees the sky and the earth and all the other things while not being those (things). Thus it is in truth. But you have seen something of that place, and you have become those (things). You have seen the Spirit, and you have become spirit. You have seen Christ, and you have become Christ. You have seen the [Father, and you] will become father. Therefore, [here] you see everything and you do not [see yourself], but you see yourself in [that place], for you will [become] that which you see. (*Gos. Phil.* 61.20–35)

At the beginning of this excerpt, seeing follows transformation, like in the transfiguration account. Then, towards the end of the passage, the logic is flipped on its head when the act of seeing itself is described as that which causes the change.<sup>87</sup> The logic is circular: a change in the beholder causes him or her to see differently, but at the same time it is the seeing that causes the beholder to change in accordance with what he or she sees. It is clear that the best metaphor to illustrate this kind of interdependence between what one is and what one sees, is that of seeing oneself in a mirror.

This is especially significant considering the sacramental connotations of the passage, which is implied by the overall mystagogical focus of the Gospel of Philip as a whole as well as by the fact that the passage is directly preceded by a short discussion of baptism, where God is metaphorically presented as a dyer who makes what he dyes “immortal” (ἀτμoυ),<sup>88</sup> and by the fact that the Gospel of Philip elsewhere uses the metaphor of the mirror explicitly to describe the effects of baptism and chrismation. Likening the baptismal water to a mirror, and the chrism, with its strong association with the Holy Spirit, with light, the Gospel of Philip shows how both are necessary in order to see oneself:

No one will be able to see himself in water or in a mirror without light, nor again will you be able to see in light without water (or) mirror.<sup>89</sup> Therefore it is necessary to baptize in both: in the light and the water, and the light is the chrism. (*Gos. Phil.* 69.8–14)

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<sup>87</sup> By regarding the end of the passage, from “Therefore” [ἄλλα τοῦτο] at *Gos. Phil.* 61.32, as a new and unrelated saying, Schenke, *Das Philippus-Evangelium* (n. 37), 32–33, 306, avoids the apparent contradiction. In my view it makes more sense to read this part as a fitting conclusion to what precedes it.

<sup>88</sup> *Gos. Phil.* 61.12–20. Here the anointing with chrism at baptism is highlighted. The chrism is metaphorically represented by the “dye” which bestows immortality on its recipients, and the act of dipping represents baptism itself. Cf. Borchert, “An Analysis,” 179; Schenke, *Das Philippus-Evangelium* (n. 37), 304–306.

<sup>89</sup> Cf. 1 Cor 13:12; 2 Cor 3:18.

The imagery of seeing oneself is used to demonstrate the necessity of combining baptism with chrismation, arguing that these ritual acts are not sufficient in themselves, as each of them is of no use without the other. You cannot see yourself in a mirror without light, and you cannot see yourself without a mirror, despite the presence of light. Thus the metaphors of seeing and becoming are associated directly with sacramental action. If one cannot see oneself, neither can one become what one sees. One can see oneself, however, with the help of a mirror (baptism in water) and light (anointing with chrism). Since one becomes a Christ by means of chrismation, what one sees as a result of baptism and chrismation is simply oneself *as Christ*, just like the apostles saw Christ in his transfiguration. And when one sees oneself as Christ, one has in fact become a Christ. Such a person is no longer simply “a Christian” (οὐχρηστIANOC), but even “a Christ” (οὐχρ̄C̄).<sup>90</sup> We also see that as in John 14, seeing Christ is associated with seeing the Father. As the Gospel of Philip puts it, “You have seen Christ, and you have become Christ. You have seen the [Father, and you] will become father.”<sup>91</sup> This logic is based upon the principle of mutual indwelling between the Father and the Son as seen in the Gospel of John.<sup>92</sup>

## 7 Johannine Christological Titles

Both the deificatory principle of seeing and becoming and its sacramental aspects are seen in another important passage, where we also come across a number of Johannine Christological titles:

Do not despise the lamb, for it is impossible to see the door without it. No one will be able to enter in to the king naked. (Gos. Phil. 58:14–17)

The Gospel of Philip here manages to combine several aspects of its sacramental theology with several important biblical references. The second of the two sentences is best read as an allusion to the Matthean parable of the Wedding

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<sup>90</sup> Gos. Phil. 67.26–27.

<sup>91</sup> Gos. Phil. 61.30–32.

<sup>92</sup> On the principle of mutual indwelling in John, see, e.g., Jey J. Kanagaraj, *‘Mysticism’ in the Gospel of John: An Inquiry into Its Background* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 264–81. As Kanagaraj puts it, “The indwelling of Jesus in the disciples is essentially an experience of ‘seeing’ Jesus and in him God. In John this indwelling is not one-sided but mutual” (ibid., 280).

Feast,<sup>93</sup> where a man shows up without a wedding garment.<sup>94</sup> In the Gospel of Philip, lacking the proper garment is equated with being naked, which must again be understood in light of other passages in the Gospel of Philip that stress the importance of putting on a garment consisting of Christ’s flesh and blood gained in the Eucharist.<sup>95</sup> Without such a garment, which is elsewhere described as a type of garment that is “better than those who have put them on,”<sup>96</sup> one may not approach the king, which can be understood as a reference to either Christ or God. Furthermore, it makes sense, of course, that one cannot enter into the throne room if one cannot see the door that leads into it, but in order to understand how the ability to see the door is related to not despising the lamb, the sentence must be read in light of the Gospel of John, where Christ is described, among other things, as lamb, door, and king. “I am the door” (ἄνοκ πρὸς ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ θύρα), says Christ in John 10:9, adding that those who enter by him will be saved,<sup>97</sup> and in John 1:29 and 1:36 John the Baptist identifies Christ as “the lamb of God.”<sup>98</sup> Both the lamb and the door may thus be identified with Christ.<sup>99</sup> As we have seen, it is an important principle throughout the Gospel of Philip that to be able to see something of the true realities one needs to become like them. Thus, just like in the transfiguration scene, one needs to become like Christ in order to see him as he really is. Here we see that one must become like Christ in order to see “the door,” which is simply Christ by a different name, and becoming like Christ requires one not to despise the lamb, which implies the sacrificial, and especially Eucharistic, connotations of Christ as the lamb.<sup>100</sup> As we have already

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**93** See, e.g., Carmino J. de Catanzaro, “The Gospel According to Philip,” *JTS* 13 (1962): 42; Ménard, *L’Évangile selon Philippe* [n. 37], 147; *Nag Hammadi Texts and the Bible: A Synopsis and Index*, ed. Craig A. Evans, Robert L. Webb and Richard A. Wiebe (Leiden: Brill, 1993), 151–52. Cf. Wilson, *Gospel of Philip* (n. 12), 93, who states that “some connection ... is perhaps to be suspected,” and Tuckett, *Nag Hammadi* (n. 16), 77, who holds the allusion to be “very indirect.”

**94** Matt 22:11–14.

**95** *Gos. Phil.* 56.26–57.22.

**96** *Gos. Phil.* 57.21–22.

**97** Cf. also John 10:7. For extensive exegesis of Jesus’ reference to himself as “the door,” see, e.g., Origen, *Comm. in Jo.* 2.10–11, where Origen connects Jesus as door with entry to the Father/King.

**98** Jesus as the lamb is also an important Christological title in Revelation (Rev 5:6, 8, 12, 13; 6:1, 16; 7:9, 10, 14, 17; 12:11; 13:8; 14:1, 4, 10; 15:3; 17:14; 19:7, 9; 21:9, 14, 22, 23, 27; 22:1, 3; cf. also Acts 8:32; 1 Pet 1:19).

**99** Stephen Gero, “The Lamb and the King: ‘Saying’ 27 of the Gospel of Philip Reconsidered,” *OrChr* 63 (1979): 180, suggests that the lamb should be identified with the “little ones” of Matt 18:10.

**100** See, e.g., Tripp, “*Sacramental System* (n. 32),” 253; Elaine H. Pagels, “Pursuing the Spiritual Eve: Imagery and Hermeneutics in the *Hypostasis of the Archons* and the *Gospel of Philip*,” in

seen, the Gospel of Philip describes the reception of Christ's flesh and blood in the Eucharist in terms of putting on a garment and becoming "a Christ." Thus the argument that seeing the door requires respecting, not despising, the lamb becomes perfectly logical. One should not despise the Eucharist,<sup>101</sup> for it is required in order to become like Christ, and only by becoming "a Christ," by wearing him as a garment, may one see Christ and enter by him to the king.<sup>102</sup>

## 8 The Gospels of John and Philip

The importance of the Gospel of John for the understanding of the Gospel of Philip can hardly be overstated. Indeed, the fundamental influence of the Gospel of John extends even to the Gospel of Philip's title, which has often been dismissed as an unimportant secondary addition to the text, perhaps even added by the scribe of this particular manuscript.<sup>103</sup> There is reason to think that the attribution of this text to Philip is less arbitrary than has often been suggested, especially when we consider the importance of the Gospel of John, and particularly John 14, to some of its most important underlying themes. As we have seen, Thomas' and especially Philip's questions and Jesus' response to them in John 14 can function as interpretive keys to the Gospel of Philip's sacramental soteriology. As Christ explains to Philip and the other disciples in John 14, insight into the mutual indwelling of the Father and the Son is of vital importance:

Do you not believe that I am in my Father and my Father in me? The words I say to you, these I say not from myself alone, but my Father who is within me he does his works. Believe me that I am in my Father and my Father is in me. If not, believe in his works. (John 14:10–11)

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*Images of the Feminine in Gnosticism*, ed. Karen L. King (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1988), 201; Schmid, *Die Eucharistie ist Jesus* (n. 37), 365.

**101** The identification of the statement not to despise the lamb with not despising the Eucharist is supported by *Ap. Const.* 7.25.7 (see W. Jardine Grisbrooke, *The Liturgical Portions of the Apostolic Constitutions: A Text for Students* [Bramcote: Grove Books, 1990], 18).

**102** The two sentences are connected by means of a Coptic wordplay on "door" (po) and "king" (ḫpo). On the Coptic wordplay and the various scholarly dismissals of the manuscript reading on the basis of the hypothetical Greek original, see Lundhaug, "An Illusion of Textual Stability" (n.8), 43–44; id., *Images of Rebirth* (n. 7), 282–83.

**103** See, e.g., Martha Lee Turner, *The Gospel According to Philip: The Sources and Coherence of an Early Christian Collection* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 9–10; Wilson, *Gospel of Philip* (n. 12), 3; Schenke, *Das Philippus-Evangelium* (n. 37), 6–7; Gaffron, *Studien* (n. 15), 10–12.



It is significant that one way of gaining insight into this relationship between the Father and the Son is through the works, i.e., the works done by the Father through the Son, and with a nod to 1 Cor 2:7 the Gospel of Philip holds that everything Christ did had a deeper significance.<sup>104</sup> In the form in which the Gospel of Philip appears in Nag Hammadi Codex II its title thus corresponds exceptionally well with the contents of the text and functions as an allusion to the important intertextual function of the Gospel of John throughout the Gospel of Philip. The role of the principle of the mutual indwelling between the Father and the Son in John 14 and elsewhere in the Gospel of John<sup>105</sup> is fundamental to the sacramental soteriology of the Gospel of Philip. This principle underlies the seeing-and-becoming passages<sup>106</sup> as well as the mystagogical understanding of baptism, chrismation, and Eucharist. The Gospel of John can be thus be regarded as the Gospel of Philip's main intertext, and the title of the work hints at this fact by pointing us to the apostle Philip's dialogue with Jesus in John 14.<sup>107</sup> Indeed, the Gospel of Philip may be regarded as an extended treatment of Philip's question.

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**104** See *Gos. Phil.* 67.27–28; Lundhaug, *Images of Rebirth* (n.7), 311–16.

**105** For an overview of the relevant passages in John, see David Crump, “Re-examining the Johannine Trinity: Perichoresis or Deification,” *SJT* 59:4 (2006): 398.

**106** It is also worth mentioning that most of the passages where the Gospel of John mentions the apostle Philip have do with seeing (John 1:43–51; 12:21–22; 14:8–14).

**107** On the interpretive function of titles, see Gérard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 55–103, 294–316. Even the beginning of the Gospel of Philip, abrupt as it is, indicates the importance of the Gospel of John, by introducing the theme of religious kinship and begetting in combination with a strongly polemical stance towards Judaism, themes for which the Gospel of Philip draws upon the Gospel of John (On the anti-Judaism of the Gospel of Philip, see Lundhaug, *Images of Rebirth* [n.7], 385–94). *Gos. Phil.*'s title may also function as an allusion to Acts 21:8, which mentions “Philip the Evangelist” [Φιλιππου τοῦ εὐαγγελιστοῦ], or even, considering the importance of baptism in *Gos. Phil.*, the apostle Philip's baptism of the Ethiopian eunuch in Acts 8:26–40.



Christopher M. Tuckett

# Principles of Gnostic Exegesis

## 1 Introduction

The title for this essay was first suggested by the organisers of the colloquium at which the papers in this volume originated.<sup>1</sup> In light of the focus of the volume as a whole (and of the original colloquium), I consider here the interpretation (or exegesis) of the gospels, such as those gospels which were (later) to become canonical.<sup>2</sup> I have also for the most part focused on the Nag Hammadi and related texts themselves.<sup>3</sup> As we shall see, the whole issue might look a little different depending on whether one focuses on the Nag Hammadi and related texts alone or whether one takes into account other material preserved within the writings of church fathers. Further, in light of other essays in the volume, I have not treated the *Gospel of Thomas* or the *Gospel of Philip* in any detail. Certainly the former requires a very full treatment in its own right. However, the title of the essay deserves some brief preliminary discussion. Certainly both the words “G/gnostic” and “exegesis” raise issues which need to be noted initially: the first in its own right, the second in the context of this essay.

The term “G/gnostic” presents many, by now well-known, dangers and potential difficulties. Whether the word (or the associated noun “Gnosticism”) is appropriate to use at all is debated by some,<sup>4</sup> though even those who would question the use of the word itself would not deny that many of the texts usually

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1 To be fair, the original title suggested was “Principles of Gnostic (and anti-Gnostic) Exegesis.” Any attempt to try to cover possible principles used by those writing to oppose Gnostic ideas/writers would extend the discussion here very considerably. I have therefore chosen to focus solely on “Gnostic” exegesis.

2 In what follows, I refer to the “canonical gospels” without always explicitly noting that these gospels were not necessarily canonical at the time of the writing of the various Gnostic texts considered, but only became canonical later. In part this is to prevent the text becoming too cumbersome, but any reference to the “canonical gospels” should be taken with this proviso. These gospels may have been gaining in status and authority, though the precise nature of that status is unclear.

3 I include among “related” texts the Gospel of Mary and the Gospel of Judas, from the BG 8502 codex and Codex Tchacos respectively. Both codices contain other texts also found within the Nag Hammadi library and are clearly closely related to the Nag Hammadi texts.

4 See e.g. Michael A. Williams, *Rethinking “Gnosticism”: An Argument for Dismantling a Dubious Category* (Princeton: Princeton University, 1996); Karen L. King, *What is Gnosticism?* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University, 2003).

included under this rubric do display a sufficient number of common features to make it sensible to consider them together as forming in some sense a group which is distinguishable from other texts. Hence it may still be appropriate to retain the term as a meaningful category describing a range of different texts and ideas from antiquity.<sup>5</sup> I therefore use the word to describe such a group of texts,<sup>6</sup> though bearing in mind that the group may well be somewhat amorphous, with the boundary lines at the edges not always clear-cut or absolutely well defined.

Within the possible broad category of “Gnostic”, further sub-divisions, such as “Valentinian” and/or “Sethian”, are widely used today though also contested. Detailed discussion of the issues concerned would take us too far afield. Perhaps the term “Valentinian” creates fewer problems as referring to a set of texts, or ideas reflected in certain texts, though there is the well-known issue of how far later “Valentinians” might relate to the figure of Valentinus himself. For “Sethian”, there is more debate as to how well defined any such grouping might be, though as with “Gnostic” more generally and also with “Valentinian”, any texts included under the rubric display not only possible common features but also some diversity.<sup>7</sup> However, the very existence of such a division indicates that the existence of (potentially considerable) diversity among Gnostics. Further, even with the broad categories of “Valentinian” and “Sethian” there are differences at many levels. This is the case not least in relation to the possible use by these texts/writers of other texts such as the canonical gospels. Certainly the level of any possible usage (and “dependence”) varies considerably and also any “principles” used differ from text to text and writer to writer. One should

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5 See variously Christoph Marksches, “Gnosis/Gnostizismus,” in *RGG*<sup>4</sup>, Bd. 3, (2000): 1045–53; Birger A. Pearson, “Gnosticism as a Religion,” in *Gnosticism and Christianity in Roman and Coptic Egypt* (New York & London: T&T Clark International, 2004), 201–23, and others.

6 For the sake of consistency, I use the capitalised forms Gnostic and Gnosticism here, and for simplicity without inverted commas.

7 For Valentinians, see Ismo Dunderberg, “The School of Valentinus,” in *A Companion to Second-Century Christian “Heretics”*, ed. Antti Marjanen and Petri Luomanen, VCSup 76 (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 64–99; also his *Beyond Gnosticism: Myth, Lifestyle and Society in the School of Valentinus* (New York: Columbia University, 2008). For Sethians, the literature is immense: see the seminal essay of Hans-Martin Schenke, “Das sethianische System nach Nag-Hammadi-Handschriften,” in *Studia Coptica*, ed. Peter Nagel (Berlin: Akademie, 1974), 165–73; also id., “The Phenomenon and Significance of Gnostic Sethianism,” in *The Rediscovery of Gnosticism: Proceedings of the International Conference on Gnosticism at Yale. Volume 2. Sethian Gnosticism*, ed. Bentley Layton (Leiden: Brill, 1978), 588–616. For recent surveys of the various issues, see Michael A. Williams, “Sethianism,” in *A Companion* (n. 7), 32–63; Jens Schröter, “The Figure of Seth in Jewish and Early Christian Writings. Was there a ‘Sethian Gnosticism?’” in *The Other Side: Apocryphal Perspectives on Ancient Christian “Orthodoxies”*, ed. Tobias Nicklas et al., NTOA 117 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2017), 135–48.

not therefore expect uniformity and one cannot impose any kind of rigid scheme on the material. A single essay such as this can therefore only scratch the surface of a potentially vast and highly complex field. In what follows, I make no attempt to be comprehensive but simply pick up on a few features which may be worth noting in relation to some of the relevant texts.

The term “exegesis” in this context might also be questionable. “Exegesis” is sometimes regarded as the attempt to determine the meaning of a (written) text. How far Gnostics made conscious and positive use of written texts, and how far they saw themselves as engaged in a process of interpreting such texts, is not certain, as we shall see. Hence it may be that the use of the word “exegesis” in the present context is a slight misnomer. On the other hand, “exegesis” can be used in a looser sense, referring to the way in which later writers exploited earlier texts in a more general way; and in this looser sense, it may be appropriate to talk of “exegesis” by Gnostic writers. One may also note that there seems to be something of a mismatch between some of the accounts given in the church fathers about Gnostic uses of the gospels and/or gospel traditions and also the material by Gnostics preserved by the church fathers on the one hand, and the evidence which emerges from the Gnostic texts themselves on the other.<sup>8</sup> I start then by considering the evidence which we have from the church fathers, before turning to the evidence from Gnostic texts themselves.

## 2 Evidence from Church Fathers

### 2.1 Church Fathers on Gnostics

A number of the church fathers write about the way in which Gnostic writers used, interpreted and exploited the texts of the canonical gospels for their own ends. The impression one gets is that Gnostic writers made very extensive use of these texts to justify their own beliefs and claims, and that these texts were crucially important for them. Thus Origen claims that Gnostics produced many commentaries on gospel (and other apostolic) texts: “Yet I see the heterodox assailing the church of God in those days, under the pretence of higher wisdom, and bringing forward works in many volumes in which they offer expositions of the evangelical and apostolic writings.”<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> This is of course by no means the only way in which the evidence from the church fathers about Gnostics and the evidence from Gnostics themselves does not always match very well.

<sup>9</sup> Comm. Jo. 5.8.

Irenaeus also states that the interpretation of gospel texts (especially John) was a key part especially of Valentinian argumentation. Thus he refers to “the followers of Valentinus” as “making copious use of [the gospel] according to John to illustrate their conjunctions” (Haer. 3.11.7).<sup>10</sup> He gives quite a lot of substance to this in the earlier part of his work, giving detailed examples of the ways in which Ptolemy and others used the gospels, focusing on use of numbers and numerology amongst other things. Thus he claims that they derive the number of 30 aeons in the Pleroma from the parable of the labourers in the vineyard, sent out in the first, third, sixth, ninth and eleventh hours (Matt 20:1–16), by noting that  $1+3+6+9+11=30$  (Haer. 1.1.3). The three different classes of men and women (material, psychic and spiritual) are found by them in the three claimants to discipleship in Luke 9:57 ff., and in the “three” measures of meal used by the woman in the parable of the leaven, the woman also being seen as the figure of Sophia (Haer. 1.8.3). Irenaeus also gives what he claims is an extensive quotation of Ptolemy deriving the existence and names of the eight aeons in the primary Ogdoad via a detailed exegesis of the wording of the Johannine prologue (Haer. 1.8.5).<sup>11</sup> All this suggests a picture of Gnostic thinkers and writers engaging in very detailed interpretation of the canonical gospel texts, especially perhaps the parables, and regarding it as vitally important to derive their ideas via “exegesis” of these texts.

On the other hand, Irenaeus elsewhere gives a slightly different view. He accuses the people he is opposing of effectively rejecting the witness of scripture: these people, he asserts, regard scripture as ambiguous, the apostles intermingled things from the Saviour with things “of the law”, and even claim that the words of Jesus come sometimes from the Demiurge, sometimes from “the intermediate place”, and (only) sometimes from the Pleroma. Hence, he concludes, “these men do now consent neither to scripture nor to tradition” (Haer. 3.2.1–2). This then would seem to envisage a model whereby Gnostics did not regard the scriptures recognised by Irenaeus in a positive way at all. So too, later in his Book 3, Irenaeus accuses various “heretics” of playing loose with the scriptural canon, so that Marcion is accused of cutting out things from the canon (cf. Marcion’s assumed preference for the Gospel of Luke alone), whereas the Valen-

<sup>10</sup> Cf. too his reference to the followers of Ptolemy “striving, as they do, to adapt the good words of revelation to their own wicked inventions” (Haer. 1.3.6).

<sup>11</sup> There is doubt about whether the explicit attribution to Ptolemy himself is a genuine part of Irenaeus’ text here as the relevant phrase (*et Ptolemaeus quidem ita*) is missing from the Greek text of Irenaeus and from Epiphanius’ later use of this material: see e.g. Christoph Marksches, “New Research on Ptolemaeus Gnosticus,” *ZAC* 4 (2000): 225–54, 249–50; Dunderberg, “The School of Valentinus” (n. 7), 77. However, the issue is not directly relevant here.

tinians use their own “Gospel of Truth” (and presumably, by implication in Irenaeus’ argument at this point, are not using the gospels recognised by Irenaeus himself: see Haer. 3.11.9).<sup>12</sup>

## 2.2 Gnostics as Preserved by Church Fathers

The more positive attitude to the canonical gospels finds support in some of the other material, allegedly written by Gnostics, preserved in the writings of other church fathers. Thus alongside the account allegedly by Ptolemy in Haer. 1.8.5, we have the Letter of Ptolemy to Flora preserved by Epiphanius (Pan. 33.3–7), the fragments of Heracleon’s commentary on John preserved within Origen’s own commentary on John, the Excerpts from Theodotus preserved in Clement of Alexandria, as well as instances where Irenaeus claims to quote the arguments of Gnostics (such as Ptolemy in Haer. 1.8.5). In part, some of these might support the positive attitude noted above.

### 2.2.1 Ptolemy’s Letter to Flora

Ptolemy’s Letter to Flora, whilst in one way focusing primarily on the status of the Mosaic Law found in Jewish scripture, and making its famous three-part division (arguing that one part of the Law originates with the supreme God, one with the “just” Demiurge, and one with the “elders of the people”), claims that all further teaching can be tested “by means of our saviour’s teaching” (Pan. 33.7.9) and indeed that Flora will be able to do such testing. This would be congruent with a presumption that further teaching will be derived via detailed exegesis of specific texts containing the teaching of the saviour, i.e. the canonical gospels. On the other hand, there is no reference to “texts” here, but only to “the saviour’s teaching”; this could be the teaching as found in specific texts which are universally shared by all, but this interpretation is by no means required. It could just as well be that the reference is to teaching of the saviour which is available only to a select few, in revelations and secret teaching given only to other Gnostics. The reference here is thus ambiguous and, although often

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<sup>12</sup> There is of course a well-known debate about whether the “Gospel of Truth” mentioned here by Irenaeus is the same as the text known as the Gospel of Truth from Nag Hammadi (NHC I,3: the name given to the text by modern scholarship derives from the opening words of the text, not from any colophon after the text).

taken as referring to the widespread use of (“canonical”) gospels by people such as Ptolemy,<sup>13</sup> it is rather more open-ended.

The existence of commentaries on the gospels is attested by church fathers such as Origen (see above), but sadly none survives. In fact, apart from the general claim about the existence of many commentaries, only two possible works are attested. One is reasonably secure, viz. the commentary of Heracleon preserved in parts by Origen; the other is a possible work by the earlier Basilides. I consider each here briefly in turn.

### 2.2.2 Basilides

Basilides<sup>14</sup> is sometimes mentioned as a possible author of a commentary, though his work itself does not survive apart from a few possible fragments. The existence of a commentary is perhaps suggested by a remark (by one Agrippa Castor, recorded in Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 4.7.5–8) that Basilides wrote a work of 24 volumes εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον. However, what the εὐαγγέλιον in question might have been, and whether this is indeed a reference to a commentary at all, are all disputed questions. In one fragment of Basilides preserved by Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* 4.81.1–83.2, there said to be from the “23<sup>rd</sup>” volume of Basilides), there is an extended reflection on the nature of suffering and the goodness of providence. This might then be part of Basilides’ commentary,<sup>15</sup> but this is by no means certain.<sup>16</sup> Even if it were part of a commentary, we do not know for certain what it is a commentary on: whether on one of the canonical gospels (Luke is perhaps the most likely), or whether Basilides himself wrote a gospel and then

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**13** And to be fair, earlier in the letter, Ptolemy does appeal to the teaching of Jesus as found in the canonical gospels to provide his criterion for assessing different parts of the Law: cf. *Pan.* 33.6.1 appealing to the teaching of Jesus in Matt 5:21–37 (about anger, looking with desire and swearing) in relation to the Decalogue, and to Matt 5:39 (on non-retaliation) in relation to the *lex talionis*. See Winrich A. Löhr, “Gnostic and Manichean Interpretation,” in *The New Cambridge History of the Bible. Volume 1. From the Beginnings to 600*, ed. James Carleton Paget and Joachim Schaper (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2013), 584–604, 597.

**14** For Basilides, see especially Winrich A. Löhr, *Basilides und seine Schule: eine Studie zur Theologie- und Kirchengeschichte des zweiten Jahrhunderts*, WUNT 83 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1996); also Birger A. Pearson, “Basilides the Gnostic,” in *A Companion* (n. 7), 1–31, with the bibliography there.

**15** So e.g. Löhr, *Basilides* (n. 14), 4–14, 223–30. Löhr argues that it might be a commentary on Luke.

**16** See especially the doubts raised by James A. Kelhoffer, “Basilides’s Gospel and *Exegetica* (*Treatises*),” *VC* 59 (2005): 115–34, especially 121–2.



wrote a commentary on it. The evidence is simply too meagre and fragmentary to establish any firm conclusions. If though the material preserved by Clement is both genuine (as part of a “commentary”) and also representative, it would seem that Basilides’ comments took the form of extended accounts in his own words of a general theme suggested by the text being commented on. There is no detailed discussion of the meaning or significance of individual words or phrases, nor any reference to the wording of a text being exegeted as such. The “commentary” seems to be at most the context providing an opportunity for the author to develop in his own words what he wants to say, almost independent of any prior text being interpreted.

### 2.2.3 Heracleon

The one work of this nature that does survive – in part – is the commentary of Heracleon on John’s gospel, parts of which are cited by Origen in his Commentary on John.<sup>17</sup> The nature of the evidence we have for Heracleon’s text inevitably means that our knowledge of it is partial and hence somewhat insecure. We only have Origen’s quotations of Heracleon: hence we do not necessarily have all of Heracleon’s commentary.<sup>18</sup> Also we cannot always be sure where Origen’s quotations of Heracleon ends and where his own comments begin again. Further, we do not know how accurate Origen was in his citations, and it may indeed be that at times Origen misquoted (or misunderstood) Heracleon.<sup>19</sup> Nevertheless, with all these caveats in mind, the broad outlines of Heracleon’s commentary and the principles of his “exegesis”, seem clear (or at least in the sections we have).

Heracleon is mostly concerned to relate all the text he interprets in relation to claims that he wishes to make about the origins and nature of the universe, its “personnel”, and above all (at least in the material which survives in Origen) about the nature of the responses to the Saviour which are evidenced. All this is done primarily through an “allegorical” interpretation which takes many of

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17 For Heracleon, see Elaine Pagels, *The Johannine Gospel in Gnostic Exegesis. Heracleon’s Commentary on John*, SBLMS 17 (New York: Abingdon, 1973); Ansgar Wucherpfennig, *Heracleon Philologus. Gnostische Johannesexegese im zweiten Jahrhundert*, WUNT 142 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2002); Einar Thomassen, “Heracleon,” in *The Legacy of John: Second-Century Reception of the Fourth Gospel*, ed. Tuomas Rasimus; NovTSup 132 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 173–210.

18 Origen gives no citations of Heracleon’s commentary after John 8. Hence we do not know how much of the gospel Heracleon commented on.

19 See e.g. Wucherpfennig, *Heracleon Philologus* (n. 17), 52; Thomassen, “Heracleon” (n. 17), 185, on Frg. 13.

the details of the text as references to figures and entities in Heracleon's (Valentinian) understanding of the nature of reality.

To give a few examples: in Frg. 1, John 1:3 ("all things were made through him and without him nothing was made") is taken as referring to the work of the Logos in being ultimately responsible for the creation of the cosmos ("all things") but not of the full Pleroma; further, the use of the preposition "through whom", rather than "from whom" or "by whom" (οὐ τὸν ἀφ' οὗ ἢ ὑφ' οὗ, ἀλλὰ δι' οὗ) indicates that it is the Logos who is the ultimate power behind the creation of the (lower) world, even if the direct agent is the Demiurge who thereby acts at the bequest of the Logos. In Frg. 8, the figure of John the Baptist in John 1:26–27 is taken to be the Demiurge explicitly saying that he is inferior to the figure of the Logos-Saviour; and in Frg. 10, John's words of John 1:29 ("Behold the lamb of God") are taken as referring to the "body" of the Saviour and thereby showing that the Demiurge/"John" does not fully understand the full nature of who Jesus is (otherwise he would have referred Jesus as a full-grown "ram"). Jesus' going "down" to Capernaum in John 2:12 is taken as referring to the descent of the Saviour into the world of matter (Frg. 11);<sup>20</sup> his going "up" to Jerusalem in 2:13 as the Saviour's ascent to the psychic world (Frg. 13). The cleansing of the temple in John 2:14–17 is taken as referring to the salvific work of the Saviour in cleansing the soul and casting out demonic powers which are represented in the story by the dealers and money-changers (Frgs. 13, 14).

Origen records quite a lot of detail on Heracleon's interpretation of the stories of the Samaritan woman (John 4), the healing of the nobleman's son (John 4) and the debate with the "Jews" (John 8). Heracleon takes these as paradigmatic of responses to the Saviour from three different kinds of human beings. Thus the Samaritan woman represents the spiritual people who respond to the Saviour immediately, without hesitation. The "husband" she should call (John 4:16) is the syzygic male counterpart who will provide her completion in the spiritual realm, whereas the "six husbands" she has had and are not her (true) husband (John 4:17) represent the material world from which she can now escape through the Saviour (Frgs. 17, 18). In the story of the nobleman's son (John 4:46–53), the nobleman is taken as the Demiurge, a "petty princeling" set over a small kingdom by someone greater. The sick child is of the same nature as the Demiurge, i.e. psychic (Frg. 40). The slow response of the nobleman in the story is then paradigmatic of the response of psychics (as opposed to spirituals) to the mes-

<sup>20</sup> Perhaps implying that the Saviour assumed a physical body: see Thomassen, "Heracleon" (n. 17), 183.

sage and invitation of the Saviour. Finally the response of the Jews in John 8 who reject Jesus is said to show the response of those who are material, and hence of/ from the Devil who is also from the material world (Frg. 20). They are shown to be children of the Devil (cf. John 8:44: see Frg. 44) by their following the Devil in their desires and intents (though not necessarily through any predetermined result of their nature) and their rejection of the Saviour.

Almost everything in Heracleon's exegesis of John is thus geared to illustrating aspects of Valentinian beliefs about the nature of the universe (though there is no explicit explanation here of any myth of the origins of the Pleroma: it is however almost certainly presupposed), about the different natures of human beings and their responses to the coming of the Saviour. It is probably fair to say that Heracleon shows little concern with the nature of the story in John's gospel as a story which might be about historical events in the world, though he does make one or two comments at this level.<sup>21</sup> The exegesis is primarily geared to making the text of the gospel provide, via an allegorising process, an account of Valentinian themes and beliefs. Nevertheless, the process undertaken is one that can clearly count as an exegesis of the text, with at times quite careful attention being paid to the detailed wording of John's Greek (cf. above on the discussion of the preposition *διὰ* in John 1:3). Moreover, what appears to be clearly valued are not only the words of Jesus himself in John but also the actions of Jesus (such as in cleansing the temple or healing the nobleman's son) and in addition small details of the narrative (cf. Jesus going "down" to Capernaum, or "up" to Jerusalem: see above) as well as the words of the narrator (who is clearly not Jesus) in the Prologue. Thus the basis for the exegesis is an evidently high value placed not just on the words of Jesus but on the written text of the gospel.<sup>22</sup> This is then genuine exegesis of a text, not just the appropriation of prior traditions.

### 3 Nag Hammadi and Related Texts

When we turn from the descriptions of Gnostics by others, and Gnostics' texts preserved by others, the picture looks rather different, and indeed somewhat surprising in light of some of the claims made by the church fathers at times. For

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<sup>21</sup> E.g. he claims that the place name in John 1:28 is "Bethany", rather than the "Bethabara" which Origen reads here, and there is no allegorical interpretation attached to the name (Frg. 9); he also mentions some details about the temple which are extraneous to his interpretation (cf. Frg. 13: "the temple courtyard, where the Levites also enter").

<sup>22</sup> See Thomassen, "Heracleon" (n. 17), 195–200.

example, it is remarkable that, despite the claims by non-Gnostic writers that Gnostics wrote many detailed commentaries, there are no extant commentaries on biblical books among the Nag Hammadi and related texts. It is also worth noting that, perhaps equally remarkably, there are no commentaries on non-canonical gospel texts: no Gnostic writer that we know of apparently thought it appropriate to use this genre in relation to the gospels produced by Gnostics.<sup>23</sup> Whether this says anything about the status of the gospels concerned is not certain. It is difficult, and/or dangerous, to argue from silence; and the fact that no such commentary is present among the Nag Hammadi (and related) texts does not mean such commentaries did not exist. But it may imply that, for all the importance attached to the teaching these “gospel” texts contained, they were possibly not regarded as having the same kind of authority or status as other “scriptural” texts. Though equally, as we shall see, it is not so clear that even the texts which were [in the process of] becoming “scriptural” and/or “canonical” were regarded as such by Gnostic writers.

How then did Gnostic writers make use of (later) “canonical” material, especially the four gospels? A great deal of work has been done recently seeking to categorise the parallels between one writer’s language and that of an earlier text. Much of this has related to the possible use of Jewish scriptures by early Christian writers, above all by Paul. In this, Richard Hays’ seminal book *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul*<sup>24</sup> has generated several attempts to refine our own language in describing, and assessing, the ways in which one writer might refer to, allude to, perhaps even “quote”, or simply echo, words from (an) earlier source(s) (such as Jewish scripture). Hays in his book title talked of “echoes”. Since then others have sought to distinguish and make more precise the possible different ways in which parallels might occur. One taxonomy for describing and assessing such parallels would distinguish (a) “quotations”, (b) “allusions”, and (c) “echoes”.<sup>25</sup> In this, “quotations” for some might be reserved for passages

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**23** Cf. Irenaeus, Haer. 3.11.9 (noted above) on the extensive use made by Valentinians of a “Gospel of Truth”. Any reception history of the Gospel of Truth itself (if this is the same text as that referred to by Irenaeus) is largely hidden from us.

**24** New Haven: Yale University, 1989.

**25** See e.g. Stanley E. Porter, “Further Comments on the Use of the Old Testament in the New Testament,” in *The Intertextuality of the Epistles: Explorations of Theory and Practice*, ed. Thomas L. Brodie, Dennis R. MacDonald and Stanley E. Porter (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix, 2007), 98–110; Andrew A. Das, *Paul and the Stories of Israel. Grand Thematic Narratives in Galatians* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2016), ch. 1. Cf. the earlier work (especially on “quotations”) by Dietrich-Alex Koch, *Die Schrift als Zeuge des Evangeliums: Untersuchungen zur Verwendung und zum Verständnis der Schrift bei Paulus*, BHTh 69 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1986); Christopher D. Stanley, *Paul*

which are explicitly indicated as such by the later author using an introductory formula (such as *καθὼς γέγραπται*, frequently used by Paul, which makes it clear that what follows is intended to be a quotation of something that is “written” somewhere) and the existence of the introduction leaves no doubt that this is intended by the author and also clearly marked for the reader.<sup>26</sup> Others would also allow a parallel to qualify as a “quotation” if there is a significant collocation of significant words common to both the author and the alleged source text (though without necessarily an explicit introductory formula) and there is little doubt that both author and reader would recognise the parallel in question.<sup>27</sup> An “allusion” would be a reference to an earlier text that is less precise, but nonetheless almost certainly intended by the author, even if the lack of precision means that the parallel might not be recognised by a reader less familiar with the source text. An “echo” would then be a much looser parallel, possibly present consciously in the mind of the author but not necessarily so, and equally not necessarily capable of being picked up by a reader; but the possible parallel may enrich our reading of the text. The categories are by no means watertight, and indeed may overlap with each other; or alternatively one may slide into another depending on whose perspective is being adopted. Thus what might be an intentional “allusion”, possibly even thought of as a “quotation” by an author, may be missed by a reader and effectively, from the latter’s perspective, be at most an “echo”. So too we as modern readers perhaps need to be careful not to convert what may have originally been at most a unintentional “echo” by one author (perhaps influenced subconsciously by the language of an earlier text) into a clear, deliberately intended “allusion” or even “quotation”.

For the Nag Hammadi and related texts, we need to remember all that was said earlier about the varied nature of the Gnostic texts included in the codices of the library. We also need to remember that not all the relevant texts are necessarily Gnostic at all. The Nag Hammadi library contains a version of Plato’s *Republic* (NHC VI,5), and of the *Sentences of Sextus* (NHC XII,1), neither of which can be called Gnostic. So too there is huge debate about whether it is appropriate to label the *Gospel of Thomas* as Gnostic.<sup>28</sup> But even when one focuses on the Gnostic texts, it is striking that there is only a single explicit reference to another Christian written “gospel” text. This is the wording in the *Treatise on Resurrec-*

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*and the Language of Scripture: Citation Technique in the Pauline Epistles and Contemporary Literature*, SNTSMS 74 (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1992).

<sup>26</sup> The importance of an introductory formula is especially stressed by Stanley.

<sup>27</sup> See e.g. Porter, “Further Comments” (n. 25), 92; Das, *Paul and the Stories of Israel* (n. 25), 8–9.

<sup>28</sup> As noted earlier, the *Gospel of Thomas* will only be considered here in passing.

tion (NHC I,4) 48.6–11: “For if you remember reading in the Gospel that Elijah appeared and Moses with him, do not think that the resurrection is an illusion.” Here, for the only time in the Nag Hammadi texts, we have a clear reference to a written “gospel” text which can be, and has been, “read”. The text is called a “gospel” and clearly contains the story of (what we now call) the “transfiguration” (though the writer of the text may be taking it as the account of a resurrection appearance). Whether the text is Mark, Matthew or Luke is probably impossible to say.<sup>29</sup> But clearly a gospel text is already in existence and being “read”.

This is however very much the exception. Even in this instance, the reference is hardly a “quotation”: the writer simply provides a summary of the story in question and does not give an explicit verbatim citation of the earlier text. If one wants to restrict “quotation” to explicit citations, i.e. those which have an introductory formula to indicate explicitly that a quotation from an earlier source is being cited, then there are probably very few in relation to the canonical gospels.<sup>30</sup> One example is found in the Exegesis on the Soul (NHC II,6) which has a number of explicit citations from various sources (biblical and non-biblical). In terms of gospel citations, there are three, introduced as the words of the Saviour:

Therefore the Saviour cries out, “No one can come to me unless the Father draws him and brings him to me; and I myself will raise him up on the last day” (134.35–135.4; cf. John 6:44).

Again the Saviour said, “Blessed are those who mourn, for it they who will be pitied; blessed, those who are hungry, for it they who will be filled” (135.15–17; cf. Matt 5:4, 6; Luke 6:21).

Again he said, “If anyone does not hate his soul he cannot follow me” (135.18–21; cf. Luke 14:26).

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**29** See Christopher M. Tuckett, *Nag Hammadi and the Gospel Tradition* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1986), 68–69. What appears here is a summary, not a precise quotation. One could refer to the fact that Elijah here is mentioned before Moses and then argue that it is Mark’s gospel which is in mind since Elijah is mentioned before Moses in Mark but not in the Matthean or Lukan parallels. However, the reference is probably too imprecise to allow such an exact analysis.

**30** As noted earlier, I leave aside discussion of the Gospel of Thomas. Each saying there is introduced by “Jesus said/says”; though even here it is not clear that this counts as an “introductory formula” introducing a citation from a prior text. It clearly serves to indicate that the speaker is Jesus; but whether the author is consciously evoking an earlier source or tradition where the same words might have been used is not clear. Presumably the prime reason for giving each saying (as something that “Jesus says/said”) is that the words have validity now for the reader and that they come with the authority of Jesus as the speaker.

Given the penchant for the writer of this text to make extensive quotations, it seems justified to see these as genuine “quotations” of material, almost certainly derived from the gospels of Matthew, Luke and John.<sup>31</sup>

In other instances, there is an introduction to a saying which has a clear parallel in the gospels, but this may again simply serve to identify the speaker as the Saviour (or Jesus): it is then not quite clear whether this should count as an “introductory formula” serving to introduce an earlier tradition or source, or whether it is simply indicating the speaker of the words that follow. If the latter is the case, what follows is not introduced explicitly as a quotation of an earlier tradition, but nevertheless the similarity and closeness of the words to earlier traditions is such that it might still be regarded as a “quotation”. This probably applies in the case of the Interpretation of Knowledge (NHC XI,1), where at one point there is a pastiche of sayings with all but verbatim parallels in the gospels:

Now this is his teaching: “Do not call out to a father on earth. Your Father, who is in heaven, is one. You are the light of the world. They are my brothers and my fellow companions who do the will of the Father. For what use is it if you gain the whole world and you forfeit your own soul?” (9.27–35)<sup>32</sup>

The same can probably be said of the pastiche of sayings in the Gospel of Mary (BG 8502) 8.14–22:

The blessed one [...] greeted them all, saying: “Peace be with you. My peace receive for yourselves. Beware that no one leads you astray saying, ‘See here!’, or ‘See there!’, for the Son of Man is within you. Those who seek him will find him. Go then and preach the gospel of the kingdom.”<sup>33</sup>

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**31** Although the introductory “formulae” simply identify the speaker as “the Saviour”: they do not necessarily refer back to a prior text.

**32** Cf. the synoptic parallels in Matt 23:9; 5:14; 12:50; 16:26. The parallels are closest with Matthew’s version where there are synoptic parallels, or with material peculiar to Matthew: hence the likelihood is that the author here is dependent (directly or indirectly) on Matthew’s gospel. See Tuckett, *Nag Hammadi* (n. 29), 146; Elaine Pagels and John D. Turner, in *Nag Hammadi Codices XI, XII, XIII*, ed. Charles W. Hedrick, NHS 28 (Leiden: Brill, 1990), 80.

**33** Cf. the synoptic and Johannine parallels in Luke 24:36; John 20:19, 21, 26; 14:27; Mark 13:5 pars.; Mark 13:21 pars.; Luke 17:21; Mark 8:34 pars.; Matt 7:7 par.; Matt 24:14. For discussion of the details, see Christopher M. Tuckett, *The Gospel of Mary* (Oxford: Oxford University, 2007), 57–63.

Similarly there are a few citations of the same nature (with a similar introduction) in the Gospel of Philip (NHC II,3).<sup>34</sup>

However, the number of such “quotations” is relatively low. For the most part, any parallels with material in the gospels are at the level of being allusions or echoes. Given that it is something of a “grey area” to distinguish between these, it is very often not clear whether one should regard a parallel as an “allusion” or an “echo”, and hence what status one might/should ascribe to the parallel: is this a case of perhaps simply a coincidence in wording? Is it (simply) a case of wording that is relatively familiar reappearing in a later text but with no great significance on its own? Is the parallel intended by the author (and/or intended to be picked up by the reader, and/or would be picked up by the reader)?<sup>35</sup> And perhaps more importantly, for the present context, how far is the author of a text seeking to refer back to the prior text (or tradition) for some kind of authority claim? Does the existence of an allusion, or an echo, add anything to the claims made in the text? Is the author intending to provide an “interpretation” of what the earlier text (“really”) means? Is this then strictly “exegesis” of a text, or something rather looser and less well-defined? What, if anything, is the purpose of alluding to such earlier traditions?

It would of course be simplistic to try to answer such general questions with a single answer if one thinks that one such answer would (or could) cover all the texts and examples in question. I have already noted the great variety among the Nag Hammadi texts in general terms, even among those which might be classified as Gnostic. This also applies in relation to the possible use such texts make of earlier traditions as found in the canonical gospels. Certainly the level of such usage varies very considerably. One can make an inventory of all the Nag Hammadi texts to see how much, and how far, they “quote”, “allude to”, or possibly “echo” synoptic or Johannine traditions; and one can seek to analyse the traditions concerned in their canonical gospel contexts to see what they might tell us about the status of the tradition concerned (such as whether they might reflect a stage in the tradition prior to the writing of those gospels, or whether they presuppose a later stage in the development of the tradition). I have undertaken that task elsewhere, at least in relation to the Nag Hammadi texts (other than the Gospel of Thomas) in their use of synoptic material.<sup>36</sup> The general results may

<sup>34</sup> Cf. 83.11–13: “That is why the word says ‘Already the axe is laid at the root of the trees’” (cf. Q 3:9); 72.34–73.1: “For he [Christ] said ‘Thus we should fulfil all righteousness’” (cf. Matt 3:15).

<sup>35</sup> Needless to say, these three are not all the same!

<sup>36</sup> See Tuckett, *Nag Hammadi* (n. 29). For use of John, see Titus Nagel, *Die Rezeption des Johannevangeliums im 2. Jahrhundert: Studien zur vorirenäischen Auslegung des vierten Evangeliums in christlicher und christlich-gnostischer Literatur*, ABIG 2 (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt,



not have been surprising in one way: all such parallels as one can identify give no evidence of the use of pre-synoptic (or pre-Johannine) traditions but seem to presuppose the finished gospels (whether such use is made directly or indirectly).

However, one also needs to note that the quantity of the evidence available varies considerably from text to text. Some texts display no clear, identifiable parallels with other Christian texts, giving rise to claims by some that the texts concerned are not Christian at all, with then further possibilities raised about whether Gnosticism might have originated outside Christianity.<sup>37</sup> Thus text such as Eugnostos (NHC III,5, V,1), The Thunder (NHC VI,2), The Three Steles of Seth (NHC VII,5), Zostrianos (NHC VIII,1), Norea (NHC IX,2), Marsanes (NHC X,1), and Allogenes (NHC XI,3) have no clear echoes of, or allusions to, Christian traditions and are all widely regarded as non-Christian, at least in their present form. With the other Gnostic texts from Nag Hammadi, the level of Christian influence varies very considerably. In some texts, there are very few allusions to, or echoes of, apparently earlier Christian traditions (such as Hypostasis of the Archons [NHC II,4], Tripartite Tractate [NHC I,5]). Other texts are saturated with such allusions or echoes (such as Gospel of Truth [NHC I,3], Apocalypse of Peter [NHC VII,3], Apocryphon of James [NHC I,2]).

As well as a great range in the level of allusions to the canonical gospels, there is also considerable variation in the way these texts are appropriated. Others have tried to classify the ways in which Gnostic writers used Old Testament texts, especially the Genesis creation stories.<sup>38</sup> Some have involved very negative

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2000), and others. The work of Pagels, *Johannine Gospel* (n. 17), which might appear from its main title to promise a comprehensive survey of the use of John in “Gnostic exegesis” in fact focuses primarily on the interpretation of John in Heracleon and Ptolemy (as reported in Irenaeus and in Flora) with some attention paid to the Gospel of Truth. The same is true of the article of Jean-Daniel Kaestli, “L’exégèse valentienne du quatrième évangile,” in *La communauté johannique et son histoire*, ed. Jean-Daniel Kaestli, Jean-Michel Poffet and Jean Zumstein (Genève: Labor et Fides, 1990), 323–50.

37 Such an argument has some force, though one has to remember the dangers of any argument from silence: the absence of any obviously Christian features in a text does not necessarily mean that the text is not Christian. And there is a possibility that traditions may have been “de-christianised” over the course of time (a possibility raised by Robin McL. Wilson, “The Trimorphic Protennoia,” in *Gnosis and Gnosticism*, ed. Martin Krause, NHS 17 [Leiden: Brill, 1977], 50–54).

38 See Löhr, “Gnostic and Manichean Interpretation” (n. 13), 594, with reference to Peter Nagel, “Die Auslegung der Paradieserzählung in der Gnosis,” in *Altes Testament. Frühjudentum. Gnosis*, ed. Karl-Wolfgang Tröger (Gütersloh: Mohn, 1980), 49–70; Kurt Rudolph, “Bibel und Gnosis. Zum Verständnis jüdisch-biblischer Texte in der gnostischen Literatur, vornehmlich aus Nag-Hammadi,” in *Gnosis und spätantike Religionsgeschichte. Gesammelte Aufsätze*, NHMS 42 (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 90–109; also Williams, *Rethinking “Gnosticism”* (n. 4), 54–79.

attitudes to the Old Testament stories, providing outright rejection, or a subversive re-interpretation, of the texts; others have involved “allegorical” or “typological” interpretation of the text;<sup>39</sup> others too have involved citations of Old Testament texts to support Gnostic teaching. In relation to (what became) New Testament texts, the latter category does not really occur, at least in relation to the gospels. One does however sometimes (though not very often) find relatively clear examples of positive, allegorical interpretations of gospel traditions (and probably gospel texts).

### 3.1 Positive Interpretation: Allegory

One example of an explicit attempt at allegorical interpretation occurs in the Gospel of Truth. As noted above, the text is saturated with parallels with the canonical gospels; however, many (or most) of these remain at the level of (at times close) verbal parallels but without any clear explicit attempt at interpreting an earlier tradition. It may be that, in part, the author simply knows the language of texts which became canonical (and indeed may well have been in the process of becoming steadily more influential and/or authoritative).<sup>40</sup> It would probably be misguided to assume too quickly that, for the author of the Gospel of Truth, these texts were already part of a firm “canon”.<sup>41</sup> Nevertheless, at one point the author does engage in what appears to be explicit interpretation of a tradition. This occurs in the quasi-“allegorical” interpretation of the parable of the lost sheep:

He is the shepherd who left behind the ninety-nine sheep which were not lost. He went searching for the one which was lost. He rejoiced when he found it, for 99 is a number that is in the left hand which holds it. But when the one is found, the entire number passes to the right hand. Thus it is with him that lacks the one; that is, the entire right which draws what was deficient and takes it from the left-hand side and brings it to the right, and thus the number becomes 100 (31.35–32.16).

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<sup>39</sup> It is not easy to distinguish clearly between “allegorical” and “typological” interpretation.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Tuomas Rasimus, “Ptolemaeus and the Valentinian Exegesis of John’s Prologue,” in *The Legacy of John: Second Century Reception of the Fourth Gospel*, ed. Tuomas Rasimus, NovTSup 132 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 145–71, 169: the author of Gos. Truth “has simply incorporated Johannine themes and language into his own theology”.

<sup>41</sup> So Willem C. van Unnik, “The ‘Gospel of Truth’ and the New Testament”, in *The Jung Codex. A Newly Recovered Gnostic Papyrus*, ed. Frank L. Cross (London: Mowbray, 1955), 79–129, esp. 122, 124. On this, see Hans von Campenhausen, *The Formation of the Christian Bible* (London: A&C Black, 1972), 140–1.

The very fact that the imagery of a lost sheep and a shepherd searching is somewhat alien to what the writer wants to say is evidence of an earlier tradition being forced (somewhat violently) to make it say what the author wants to say.<sup>42</sup> It is thus all but certain that the parable of the lost sheep from the synoptic tradition is in mind here. Further, the fact that the parable is allegorised does suggest that the tradition is regarded as significant and important: one does not necessarily allegorise an earlier tradition which lacks any significance at all.<sup>43</sup> The actual details of the allegorical interpretation are left rather unclear. Does the lost sheep refer to a “lost” human being who is given (saving) knowledge and rescued from “error” and/or ignorance? Or is the lost sheep a covert reference to the being of Sophia and her fall from the Pleroma?<sup>44</sup> All attention is focused on the numbers (99 counted on the left hand and representing deficiency, 100 counted on the right hand and representing perfection).<sup>45</sup> But again it is not clear if the perfection attained is the unity of all saved human beings, or the unity of the restored Pleroma.<sup>46</sup>

A similar allegorising process occurs in the section which follows:

Even on the Sabbath, he laboured for the sheep which he had found fallen into the pit. He gave life to the sheep having brought it up from the pit in order that you might know interiorly – you, the sons of interior knowledge – what is the Sabbath on which it is not fitting for salvation to be idle, in order that you may speak from the day from above, which has no night, and from the light which does not sink because it is perfect (32.18–30).

Here the Matthean tradition of the saying about drawing a sheep out of a pit on the Sabbath,<sup>47</sup> probably combined with John 5:17, is being interpreted. Again the

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<sup>42</sup> Cf. Tuckett, *Nag Hammadi* (n. 29), 58–59; Jacqueline A. Williams, *Biblical Interpretation in the Gnostic Gospel of Truth from Nag Hammadi*, SBLDS 79 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988), 119–23.

<sup>43</sup> Nevertheless the precise level of significance remains unclear.

<sup>44</sup> Elsewhere, at least according to Irenaeus, Valentinians interpreted the lost sheep of the parable as the figure of Sophia, fallen away from the Pleroma (cf. Haer. 1.8.4; 16.1; 23.2; 2.5.2). However, the text of Gos. Truth does not (explicitly) mention the Valentinian myth about the origins of the Pleroma and the fall of Sophia.

<sup>45</sup> For the counting systems presupposed, see Van Unnik, “Gospel of Truth” (n. 41), 96–97; Jacques-É. Ménard, *L'évangile de vérité*, NHS 2 (Leiden: Brill, 1972), 150; Kendrick Grobel, *The Gospel of Truth* (New York: Abingdon, 1960), 129–33; Harold W. Attridge in *Nag Hammadi Codex I (The Jung Codex) Notes*, ed. Harold W. Attridge, NHS 23 (Leiden: Brill, 1985), 33.

<sup>46</sup> A similar appeal to the numbers 99 and 100 is attributed to the Marcosians according to Irenaeus, Haer. 1.16.2.

<sup>47</sup> The fact that it is a “sheep” in the pit clearly links the text with Matthew’s version of the saying (Matt 12:11), which is almost certainly due to Matthew’s redaction here; hence Gos. Truth here

fact that the language of sheep, pit and (perhaps) Sabbath are all a little alien to the meaning the writer seeks to extract from the tradition shows that an earlier tradition is being interpreted, and presumably too regarded positively (and perhaps in some sense “authoritatively”).<sup>48</sup>

The interpretation of both passages is somewhat “arbitrary” and hardly indicated by the earlier texts themselves. But in both instances the earlier passage is taken as referring to details of Gnostic belief and thought (such as about the significance of numbers) with little if any attempt to relate the text to anything in the life of Jesus.<sup>49</sup> Such examples of clear interpretation via allegorising are however not that common in the Nag Hammadi texts themselves. Indeed, perhaps surprisingly, despite the similarity between the interpretation of the parable of the lost sheep and the ideas of the Marcosians mentioned in Irenaeus Haer. 1.16.2, there are no real interpretations of the parables discernible which are comparable to many of the things claimed by Irenaeus to characterise Gnostics’ use of parables in the gospels.

Elsewhere there are many parallels and similarities between the language used by Gnostic writers and the language of the New Testament gospels. For example, the saying about trees and/or humans being known by their “fruits” is echoed in a number of Nag Hammadi texts,<sup>50</sup> and there is a notable parallel in Matt 7:16–19. Yet the saying may well be proverbial and need not necessarily be Jesuanic.<sup>51</sup> And nowhere in the Nag Hammadi texts is the saying explicitly ascribed to Jesus and thereby claimed to have any higher authority: the sentiment (in itself hardly very startling and relatively bland) is simply given on its own terms. Similarly the saying about seeking and finding may be echoed in various

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presupposes Matthew’s finished gospel, and not a pre-synoptic tradition: see Tuckett, *Nag Hammadi* (n. 29), 59–60.

**48** Cf. Williams, *Biblical Interpretation* (n. 42), 123–6. The meaning itself is again a little obscure. See Williams, *Biblical Interpretation* (n. 42), 126, who tries to spell out the details of the allegorising, but admits that “[some of the] details of the implied allegory are unstated and have to be surmised by the reader.”

**49** See above on Irenaeus Haer. 1.1.3; 1.8.3 and the interpretations of numbers in parables.

**50** See Gos. Truth 33.30; Tri. Trac. 118.23–24; Ap. Pet. 75.7–9; Test. Truth 31.21–22; Val. Exp. 36.32. Origen (De Princ. 1.8.2) claims that it was a favourite Valentinian text, though the evidence from the Nag Hammadi only just bears this out.

**51** Cf. Proverbi Aesopi 51: Δῆλος ἔλεγχος ὁ καρπὸς γενήσεται παντὸς δένδρου ἣν ἔχει φύσιν, cited by H. Dieter Betz, *The Sermon on the Mount* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995), 536; the parallel is also cited by Williams, *Biblical Interpretation* (n. 42), 137, though she argues that the imagery in Gos. Truth does derive from Matthew.

places,<sup>52</sup> but again the saying is given on its own terms without appeal to an earlier authority figure to back it up; its sentiments are of course very congenial to the Gnostic enterprise generally (to seek to find saving knowledge) and hence the echo of the synoptic tradition may arise simply because the ideas expressed are congenial, but there need be no sense of a “quotation” (or necessarily even an “allusion”) involved.

Allusions and echoes of New Testament texts thus appear in many contexts, but not often with any clear attempt specifically to “interpret” them nor with an idea that the saying in question does indeed come from an earlier text, whether “authoritative” or not. One exception to this may however be the way in which some texts seem to refer to New Testament texts and traditions in an attempt to appear to be more “Christian”.

## 3.2 Positive Interpretation: Attempts to “Christianise”

Another way in which the New Testament texts are used in some Nag Hammadi (and related) writings is to provide a clear(er) “Christian” appearance to a tradition which might otherwise appear to lack such a profile. There is relatively little (or no) explicit “exegesis” taking place (in the sense of attempting to find the meaning of the text). But the use of canonical gospel texts and/or traditions may reflect a concern to identify the Saviour figure of the Gnostic teaching more clearly as the Jesus of the (more “orthodox”) Christian tradition.

### 3.2.1 Sophia of Jesus Christ

One of the clearest examples of this is seen in the taking over of the text of Eugnostos in the Sophia of Jesus Christ (NHC III,4; BG 8502,3). As noted above, Eugnostos is devoid of Christian elements. However, in the Sophia of Jesus Christ the text is rewritten and perhaps “christianized” by adding in, somewhat superficially, dialogue elements, so that the text is no longer a monologue from the Saviour figure (as in Eugnostos), but becomes a series of questions put by well-known followers of Jesus in the Christian tradition (Philip, Matthew, Bartholomew, “Mariamme” [= probably Mary Magdalene]) to which the speaker then

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<sup>52</sup> Gos. Truth 17.3–4; Thom. Cont. 140.41–42; Dial. Sav. 129.14–16; Gos. Mary 8.20–21; also the possible references to the longer saying about seeking, finding, marvelling, reigning, resting (cf. Gos. Thom. 2): see Tuckett, *Nag Hammadi* (n. 29), 154.

gives responses. It is widely accepted that the *Sophia of Jesus Christ* is the secondary text (partly because the responses do not fit the questions very well). There is little if any “exegesis” here (in the sense of trying to find the meaning of earlier traditions), but the use of the biblical names serves to provide some recognisably “Christian” material (by making known Christian followers of Jesus ask questions of the Saviour) to give the text a Christian veneer. The same is probably happening in the opening scene in the *Sophia of Jesus Christ*, where the Saviour appears in a resurrection scene on a mountain in Galilee; the disciples are perplexed and Jesus says “Peace to you. My peace I give to you” (91.21–24). The mountain scene is almost certainly drawn from Matt 28, and the “peace” greetings from Luke 24:36 and/or John 20:19; 14:27.<sup>53</sup> Whatever the details of the precise parallels and/or which gospel tradition might be reflected here, the “biblical” material looks as if it is being exploited to try to make the point that the Saviour figure delivering the Gnostic teaching is none other than the Jesus of the Christian tradition. Moreover, it creates a setting whereby the speaker is now the risen Jesus, giving a more extended amount of teaching in a post-resurrection discourse (a setting exploited by a number of other Gnostic texts: see below on *Apocryphon of John*, also *Apocryphon of James* and others). This is then not really “exegesis” of the biblical material; but it is using this material with an explicit aim.

### 3.2.2 Gospel of Mary

A similar phenomenon may occur elsewhere. The catena of sayings with close parallels in the canonical gospels in the *Gospel of Mary* 8.14–21 was noted above as an example of what could reasonably be called a “quotation” (rather than just an “allusion”). Yet the function of this catena may be very similar to the imposition of the dialogue form via questions posed by (presumably known) followers of Jesus, and the depiction of the opening scene, in the *Sophia of Jesus Christ*. In the *Gospel of Mary*, this catena occurs somewhat out of the blue: there are no clear allusions to Christian materials in the discourse up to this point (or at least in what survives in the Coptic manuscript), and what follows in the account of Mary’s vision of the journey of a soul past hostile powers is equally devoid of Christian elements. Perhaps then this sudden burst of “biblical” parallels is seeking to make the point that the speaker is indeed none other

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53 Tuckett, *Nag Hammadi* (n. 29), 32–33.

than the Jesus of the (presumably known) Christian tradition.<sup>54</sup> Clearly there is a little more going on than just that here: the “quotation” is by no means an exact replica of the synoptic sayings, and some (probably Gnostic) reinterpretation has quietly taken place. Thus the form of the saying in 8.18–19 “the Son of Man is within you” may owe its origin to Luke 17:21 “the Kingdom of God is within you/in your midst,” but the substance is significantly changed to reflect what the Gnostic writer wants to say, rather than simply repeating an earlier traditional saying of Jesus.<sup>55</sup> Nevertheless an important aim of the use of scriptural ideas here may be to seek to make the case that the Gnostic Saviour figure is none other than the Christian Jesus.

A similar process of using the other Christian gospels to provide the setting in which the Gnostic teaching is given (as in the creation of the setting in the *Sophia of Jesus Christ* as a resurrection scene modelled on those of the Matthean and Johannine accounts) may explain the (fairly clear) allusion to John 20:17 in *Gospel Mary* 10.10–13 (“I saw the Lord in a vision”: the words are repeated, probably signalling their importance). In what follows (the account of Mary’s vision) there is nothing clearly Christian at all. However, the setting seems to be created by taking over the saying from John 20:17 (“I have seen the Lord”) but also changing the context radically: in John 20, Mary says she has seen Jesus in a resurrection appearance; in *Gospel of Mary*, Mary has “seen the Lord” as the soul making its post-mortem journey past the hostile powers. Thus again the biblical material is being exploited to provide the scenery that will enable an otherwise non-Christian account appear to be more Christian.

### 3.3.3 Apocryphon of John

A third example of the same phenomenon may be provided by the *Apocryphon of John* (NHC II,1; III,1; IV,1; BG 8502,2). This Gnostic text evidently had some importance (no less than four copies survive, three in the Nag Hammadi library itself) and its account of the myth of origins has well-known links with the account Irenaeus gives of the Barbeloites in *Haer.* 1.29. The vast bulk of the text is again devoid of clear Christian elements; but as with the *Sophia of Jesus Christ* and the *Gospel of Mary*, the setting of the whole is again notable for the allusions to the synoptic tradition of disciples and resurrection appearances. Thus the

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<sup>54</sup> Tuckett, *Gospel of Mary* (n. 33), 150.

<sup>55</sup> Tuckett, *Gospel of Mary* (n. 33), 153–6. The eschatological talk about a future/present Kingdom is replaced by the Gnostic idea of a Son of Man figure, originating in the Pleroma and perhaps now present in each true Gnostic.

opening scene has John (explicitly identified as the brother of James and both then as sons of Zebedee: NHC II 1.5–8) going up to the temple and meeting a Pharisee. John then leaves and goes off to a desert place where the revelation of the Saviour figure takes place. Woven into the account here are echoes or allusions of the resurrection scene in Matt 28 (cf. 2.10: “why do you doubt?”, cf. Matt 28:17; 2.12–13: “I am the one who is with you for ever”, cf. Matt 28:20). Thus the basically non-Christian material in the bulk of the text is then (somewhat superficially) christianized by this process of creating a geographical and temporal scene out of small elements of the Christian tradition in the earlier gospels to try to show that the Saviour/teacher figure giving the Gnostic teaching is none other than the Jesus of the Christian tradition.<sup>56</sup> And, as with Sophia of Jesus Christ, it is a setting whereby the speaker is now the risen Jesus giving extended teaching in a new post-resurrection discourse.

### 3.3.4 Ptolemaic Use of Johannine Prologue

A similar process, though more overtly “exegetical”, may be at work in Irenaeus’ account of Ptolemy’s derivation of the existence of the primary Ogdoad of pleromatic beings from the wording of the Johannine prologue (Haer. 1.8.5). The attempt seems to be highly artificial (as Irenaeus himself notes and he has little difficulty in criticising it [in 1.9]). For example, the syzygic pairs do not emerge from the Prologue itself in the chronological order of their emanation (e.g. Logos is mentioned first as coming from Arche, and yet Logos is one of the third syzygic pair, with Arche in the second). Perhaps most difficult of all is the fact that the female element in the final pair, Ekklesia, is not explicitly mentioned in the Prologue at all. All this suggests that, despite the apparent great exegetical effort to derive the Ogdoad from the Prologue, the text itself is not conducive to the result that is being wrung out of it, and probably the end-result is

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<sup>56</sup> For a similar theory about the synoptic-like material in the Gospel of Thomas, see Mark Goodacre, *Thomas and the Gospels: The Case for Thomas’s Familiarity with the Synoptics* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2012), ch. 10: Thomas incorporates this material to gain rapport with his readers so that they will be more ready to receive the non-synoptic material elsewhere in the text. A full discussion of Thomas would extend the discussion here too far; however, one may just note here that the extent of Thomas’ similarity with synoptic tradition is far greater than in the other parallels mentioned here. It seems unlikely therefore that the purpose of the synoptic-like material there is simply to strike rapport with the readers and make them more receptive.



being imposed on the text somewhat artificially.<sup>57</sup> It seems much more likely then that the theory has been formed already, and the attempt to derive it from John 1 exegetically is a secondary attempt at justifying it or seeking to make it more acceptable to some. Once again we seem to have a pre-existing system of thought or ideas where the attempt to christianize it represents a secondary process that is not integral to it.

This process might give some support to the theory that the original traditions in these texts are fundamentally non-Christian in origin and have been subsequently christianized, albeit rather superficially, by placing them in a more overtly “Christian” context. But the use of the Christian materials is somewhat “light-weight”. There is little interpretation of the text going on, at least in the examples given so far (except in the case of Ptolemy). On the other hand it may be that this process could be seen as an attempt to bolster the authority of the Gnostic teaching being given, or make Gnostic teaching more palatable, especially perhaps among other Christians. The attempt to identify the speaker more clearly as Jesus may serve to give added authority and status to the teaching given, especially among those who might otherwise doubt the validity of the teaching. But the very superficial way in which this is done (and the existence of texts such as *Eugnostos* where no such attempt to identify the speaker as Jesus is felt to be necessary) may suggest that the origins of the teaching lie in a non-Christian context and the process of christianizing them is a secondary development.

### 3.3 Polemical, Negative Interpretations

One final group of texts and examples may be considered here where arguably the texts show some knowledge (perhaps even “dependence”) on the canonical gospels, but their attitude to those texts is not one of respect but of hostility and rejection.

#### 3.3.1 Accounts of the Crucifixion: The Laughing Saviour

In one set of texts and traditions, some Gnostics evidently claimed that, at the crucifixion, it was not the true Saviour who was crucified but Simon of Cyrene in his place with the Saviour looking on and laughing. This tradition appears

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57 Cf. Rasimus, “Ptolemaeus” (n. 40), esp. 162–4.

in Irenaeus Haer. 1.24.4 (and also Epiphanius Pan. 24.3) ascribed to Basilides. The same idea may be implied in the Second Treatise of the Great Seth (NHC VII,2) 56.6–19:

It was another, their father, who drank the gall and the vinegar; it was not I. They struck me with the reed; it was another, Simon, who bore the cross on his shoulder. It was another upon whom they placed the crown of thorns. But I was rejoicing in the height over all the wealth of the archons and the offspring of their error, of their empty glory. And I was laughing at their ignorance.<sup>58</sup>

A similar (though perhaps not identical) tradition appears in the Apocalypse of Peter (NHC VII,3) 81.12ff.:

Who is this one glad and laughing on the tree? And is it another one whose feet and hands they are striking? The Saviour said to me, "He whom you saw on the tree, glad and laughing is the living Jesus. But this one into whose hands and feet they drive the nails is his fleshly part, which is the substitute being put to shame, the one who came into being in his likeness."

This may imply not that Simon of Cyrene takes the place of Jesus but rather, presupposing a three-fold division of the figure of the Saviour, it is only his fleshly part which suffers while his higher part looks on laughing.<sup>59</sup> However, despite the differences in detail, all these have in common the idea that Jesus (or the "real" Jesus) was not crucified and that someone else was instead.

Some have argued that the claim that Simon of Cyrene took the place of Jesus arises from a reading of Mark 15:21–24 where the personal pronouns in verses 23–24 could (just) be taken as referring to Simon rather than Jesus and where the parallel versions in Matthew and Luke would not allow such an interpretation.<sup>60</sup> If established, this might be of interest as providing one of the few pieces of evidence for the use of Mark's gospel within early Christianity. Howev-

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<sup>58</sup> For this as representing a very similar view to that of Basilides according to Irenaeus, see e.g. Kurt Rudolph, *Gnosis* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1983), 168; Majella Franzmann, *Jesus in the Nag Hammadi Writings* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1996), 145. However, see Gregory Riley, in *Nag Hammadi Codex VII*, ed. Birger A. Pearson, NHMS 30, (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 137: the reference to Simon only implies that Simon carried the cross. "Their father" is Yaldabaoth, and perhaps it was (simply) the body used by Jesus that was crucified.

<sup>59</sup> See Tuckett, *Nag Hammadi* (n. 29), 120.

<sup>60</sup> See Robert M. Grant, "Gnostic Origins and the Basilideans of Irenaeus," *VC* 13 (1959): 121–5, 123; Löhr, "Gnostic and Manichean Interpretation" (n. 13), 591. It is possible that the reference to the "father" might imply the same, being an echo of the note that Simon of Cyrene was the father of Alexander and Rufus, a detail which only appears in Mark: cf. also Franzmann, *Jesus* (n. 58), 145.

er, there is no evidence that Basilides or the author of Treat. Seth (or the author of Apoc. Pet. in the similar model) were at all concerned or interested in providing an interpretation of a given text. There is no evidence to suggest that they were claiming that a given text (whose authority was accepted by all) was being interpreted incorrectly by others by claiming that it was the real Jesus who was crucified, and that instead they were offering the correct interpretation of this text. Rather, the implication seems to be that the story assumed by others, and hence presumably the story as implied by the text which relates the story, is wrong. The critique is then not just of the interpretation of the text which relates the story. Rather it is of the story and, by implication, of any texts which support it. This is then not a case of “biblical exegesis”, as if a “biblical” text were the given starting point and what distinguishes “us” from “them” is simply differing interpretations of the text. It seems to be a more radical claim that, at least at times, the whole story which the text(s) describe(s) is being rejected. It is thus similar to the process whereby, in many Gnostic texts, the creation story of the first chapters of Genesis is rewritten; but it is a genuinely rewritten story (or “re-written bible”): it is not that the text of the story is preserved and simply reinterpreted; it is that the story itself, and the text that relates it, is wrong. In the words of Ap. John “it is *not* as Moses said [...]”.<sup>61</sup> In one way, this is not really “exegesis” at all: it is a more radical rejection of the status of the text(s) valued by others and an attempt to replace them and/or rewrite the story they relate and imply.

### 3.3.2 Gospel of Judas

A similar situation may be reflected in the Gospel of Judas. The story line in this gospel is of course related to that in the canonical gospels with the narrative placed in the time of the passion narrative of those gospels. Further it is possible to identify and analyse possible parallels between the language of Gospel of Judas and that of the canonical gospels.<sup>62</sup> However, the basic aim of Gospel of

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<sup>61</sup> This (or a similar) phrase occurs four times in Ap. John: see NHC II, 13.19–21; 22.22–24; 23.1–4; 29.6–7, and see Christopher M. Tuckett, “Moses in Gnostic Writings”, in *Moses in Biblical and Extra-Biblical Traditions*, ed. Axel Graupner and Michael Wolter, BZAW 372 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2007), 227–40 for a more general discussion of the negative attitude to “Moses” in many Gnostic writings.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. Simon J. Gathercole, “Matthean or Lukan Priority? The Use of the NT Gospels in the Gospel of Judas,” in *Judasevangelium und Codex Tchacos: Studien zur religionsgeschichtlichen Verortung einer gnostischen Schriftsammlung*, ed. Gregor Wurst and Enno Popkes, WUNT 297 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), 291–302.

Judas is probably not to provide any kind of “exegesis” of the texts of these gospels. It is rather to provide an alternative account of the history which these gospels tell. The aim is them to rewrite the story as it appears elsewhere and implicitly to correct it.

### 3.3.3 Trimorphic Protennoia

Such a stance may be evidenced elsewhere in the Nag Hammadi writings, for example in the Trimorphic Protennoia (NHC XIII,1). Ever since its publication, striking similarities between this text and the Johannine prologue have been noted and much discussed. These similarities are particularly noticeable in the third section of the (three-part) text, with also parallels in the Pronoia hymn which comes at the end of the long version of the Ap. John (NHC II 30.11–31.31). The precise relationship between the two texts has been debated strenuously. Early discussions sought to argue that the Trimorphic Protennoia might be independent of John, and that the parallels between the two might be in a more natural place in the Trimorphic Protennoia than in John’s prologue.<sup>63</sup> However, this latter claim is now disputed.<sup>64</sup> Further, the broad history of the development of the tradition is now widely accepted.<sup>65</sup> The Trimorphic Protennoia probably represents a secondary reworking of the material in the Pronoia hymn in the Ap. John. Further, while many Johannine elements in the Trimorphic Protennoia occur above all in the third part of the text, it is very hard to identify any Johannine literary connections with the Pronoia hymn.<sup>66</sup> It is thus most likely that the Johannine connections arise out of a secondary, christianizing, process in the development of the tradition as it has moved from the Pronoia hymn to that in the present text of the Trimorphic Protennoia whereby the text of John was exploited and used by the author of Trimorphic Protennoia.<sup>67</sup>

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63 Cf. Gesine Robinson, “Die dreigestaltige Protennoia: Eine gnostische Offenbarungsrede in koptischer Sprache aus dem Fund von Hag Hammadi,” *TLZ* 99 (1974): 731–46.

64 See the short, but important, essay of Yvonne Janssens, “Une source gnostique du Prologue?” in *L’Évangile de Jean*, ed. Marinus de Jonge, BETL 44 (Leuven: Peeters, 1977), 355–8.

65 See e.g. Paul-Hubert Poirier, “The Trimorphic Protennoia (NHC XIII, 1) and the Johannine Prologue: A Reconsideration,” in *The Legacy of John: Second Century Reception of the Fourth Gospel*, ed. Tuomas Rasimus, NovTSup 132, (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 93–103, and earlier in Paul-Hubert Poirier, *La pensée première à la triple form (NH XIII, 1)*, BCNH Textes 32, (Québec: Les Presses de l’université Laval, 2006).

66 See Nagel, *Rezeption* (n. 36), 463; Poirier, “Trimorphic Protennoia” (n. 65), 101.

67 As far as the direction of any dependence is concerned, it is therefore the Tri. Prot. which is the secondary text in relation to John’s gospel.

The parallels between the Johannine prologue and the text of the Trimorphic Protennoia have been set out several times and will not be repeated here.<sup>68</sup> There is the common pattern of a three-fold manifestation/mission of the Protennoia (in Trimorphic Protennoia or the Logos (in John 1), as well as many close verbal links which, as noted, occur predominantly in the third part of the discourse (where Protennoia is explicitly called the Logos).

What is striking in the present context is however the way in which these links are developed and used in the text. There is no question of any “quotation” of the text of the Johannine prologue in Trimorphic Protennoia. The agreements are at most at the level of “allusions” or “echoes”. But there seems to be no suggestion that Trimorphic Protennoia is appealing to the Johannine prologue and/or gospel to provide authority to back up its arguments. It may be quite the reverse: for what seems to be happening in this text is that the allusions or echoes are being brought in precisely to undermine the ideas put forward in the Johannine prologue (and perhaps the gospel as a whole).<sup>69</sup>

This third section of the Trimorphic Protennoia starts off with the clear claim “I am the Logos”, after the claims in the other two sections “I am [...] the Thought” and “I am the Voice”, and the claim to be the (true?) Logos dominates the wording of this section of the text (cf. 46.5, 14, 16, 30; 47.15). So too there are frequent references to Logos-Protennoia being the Light (46.11, 16, 24; 47.29) which is not recognised by others (cf. John 1:4–5, 10–11). However, in more detail, it seems that this is not a case of simply taking up Johannine language positively: it is also the case that the language is used in a completely different way and thereby undermines the fundamental claims of John’s gospel. One of the most striking parallels with Johannine terminology is in 47.14–17: “The third time I revealed myself to them in their tents (σκηνή) as the Logos and I revealed myself in the likeness of their shape. And I wore everyone’s garment and I hid myself from them, and they did not know the one who empowers

<sup>68</sup> See e.g. Carsten Colpe, “Heidnische, jüdische und christliche Überlieferung in den Schriften aus Nag Hammadi III,” *JAC* 17 (1974): 109–25, 122; Craig A. Evans, “On the Prologue of John and the *Trimorphic Protennoia*,” *NTS* 27 (1981): 395–401, 397; Poirier, “Trimorphic Protennoia” (n. 65), 97–99. Colpe talks of the “stupenden Parallelen”.

<sup>69</sup> For this reading of Tri. Prot., see Jan Helderman, “‘In ihren Zelten ...’ Bemerkungen bei Codex XIII Nag Hammadi p. 47: 14–18 im Hinblick auf Joh 1 14,” in *Miscellanea Neotestamentica* I, ed. Tjitze Baarda, Albertus F. J. Klijn and Willem C. van Unnik, NovTSup 47 (Leiden: Brill, 1978), 181–211; Charles E. Hill, *The Johannine Corpus in the Early Church* (Oxford: Oxford University, 2004), 242–8; John D. Turner, “The Gospel and *Apocryphon* of John,” in *The Legacy of John: Second-Century Reception of the Fourth Gospel*, ed. Tuomas Rasimus, NovTSup 132 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 105–44, 122–4 (and in many previous publications); Poirier, “Trimorphic Protennoia” (n. 65), 99–101.

me.” There are clear allusions to John 1:14, especially the parallel with the verb ἐσκήνωσεν there. However, the meaning in Trimorphic Protennoia is entirely different from that in John: the Protennoia does not tabernacle in her own, but in “their” tents – rather than implying a full identity between the Logos and the rest of humanity (“became flesh”), the text here implies a totally docetic view (the Logos-Protennoia is only in the “likeness” of their shape).<sup>70</sup>

The assertion that “those who watch over their dwelling places did not recognize me” (50.15–17) is in one way parallel to John 1:5, 11; but the strong emphasis throughout Trimorphic Protennoia on the idea of the Protennoia coming her “own” (“those who are mine”) who do receive her immediately provides a powerful contrast with the claim of John 1:11 that the Logos came to “his own and his own people did not receive him”. The possibly polemical nature of the language may then make the bold claim of the Protennoia that “I alone am the Logos, ineffable, incorruptible, immeasurable, inconceivable” (46.14–15) all the more significant if the Johannine prologue is lurking in the background here.

The figure of Jesus is mentioned briefly at the end of the text, but in a way which again gains in significance if the Johannine background is kept in mind: “I put on Jesus. I bore him from the cursed wood, and established him in the dwelling places of his Father” (50.13–15). This comes just after the assertion of the Protennoia that she has proclaimed the Five Seals “in order that I might abide in them and they also might abide in me” (cf. John 15:2), clearly claiming the role of the Johannine Jesus for herself. But quite unlike the Son of Man figure in John who is lifted up and glorified on the (redemptive) cross, and who promises that he will go ahead of the disciples to prepare “dwelling places” for them (cf. John 14:2), the Logos-Protennoia here rescues Jesus from the “cursed” cross, and then establishes him in the dwelling places of his Father: the figure of Jesus thus becomes not so much the agent but the recipient of salvation.

At many points then, the author of Trimorphic Protennoia takes up Johannine language but inverts it so that the text shows the total superiority of the Logos-Protennoia over the Logos of more “orthodox” Johannine Christianity. Johannine tradition is thus adopted but it is not affirmed positively (at least in its entirety): some parts are taken over and appropriated by the figure of the Logos-Protennoia, but other parts are used to show that the account in John is fundamentally *incorrect*. As with the story of the crucifixion in Basilides and others,

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<sup>70</sup> Cf. Helderman, “In ihren Zelten” (n. 69), 206–7: “Hierbei ist in PT 47:14,15 die Pointe von Joh i 14 absichtlich umgedeutet”; “dafür ist die Umdeutung zu bewusst polemisch im Hinblick auf Joh i 14” (p. 208).

and the stories of the creation in the Jewish scriptures (“Moses”), the earlier tradition is not affirmed but rather rejected.

### 3.3.4 Apocryphon of James

A final example of this same phenomenon may be found in the Apocryphon of James (NHC I,2). The interpretation of this text is problematic in many ways and its use of other Jesus traditions involves several important issues which have led to much discussion. At one level, the text is striking in the number of verbal links it displays with both synoptic and Johannine traditions.<sup>71</sup> It has also been the focus of many attempts to identify forms of Jesus tradition earlier than, and/or independent of, those which appear in the canonical gospels.<sup>72</sup> Undoubtedly, there are traditions which could be independent of the synoptics and John and which might go back to earlier, independent forms of Jesus tradition: three parables given here which have no clear, close synoptic parallel – the date palm (7.22–35), the grain of wheat (8.10–27) and the ear of grain (12.22–27) – are the most obvious candidates for inclusion in this category. Nevertheless, it seems most likely that the text does indeed presuppose the finished synoptic gospels, and the Gospel of John, and at very many points echoes the language used there. Yet despite this overlap in language, there is still the issue of precisely what the attitude of the text is to these gospels. The argument here is that it is primarily a highly critical one.<sup>73</sup>

One indication of this may be shown at the start of the text. In the introductory scene, “the twelve disciples were all sitting together and recalling what the Saviour had said to each one of them, whether in secret or openly, and [setting it in order] in books” (2.9–15). Although the reference here to “recalling” (or remembering) has been taken as evidence of a period of oral tradition prior to that of any written texts, the reference here to writing the tradition in “books” seems to imply otherwise.<sup>74</sup> This is a period when the existence of “apostolic” writings is clearly known. Further, the broader context makes clear that the

<sup>71</sup> See Tuckett, *Nag Hammadi* (n. 29), 87–97; PHEME PERKINS, “Johannine Traditions in *Ap.Jas.* NHC (I, 2),” *JBL* 101 (1982): 403–14.

<sup>72</sup> Cf. Ron D. Cameron, *Sayings Traditions in the Apocryphon of James* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984); Helmut Koester, *Ancient Christian Gospels* (London: SCM, 1990), 187–200.

<sup>73</sup> See Hill, *Johannine Corpus* (n. 69), 250–8; cf. too Judith Hartenstein & Uwe-Karsten Plisch, in *Antike christliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung* I.2, ed. Christoph Marksches and Jens Schröter (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), 1097.

<sup>74</sup> See especially Hill, *Johannine Corpus* (n. 69), 252, responding to Cameron.

“twelve” (apart from James and Peter) are regarded in negative terms. The Saviour takes James and Peter aside and they alone receive the special revelation recounted in the main part of the text. At the end, they come back and relate what they have seen and heard to the others; they believe it initially, but are then jealous of “those to be born” (i.e. other Gnostics who will receive this teaching) and, as a result, are sent away by James elsewhere (16.1–8). And James alone goes up to Jerusalem to “obtain a portion among the beloved who will appear”. The other apostles are thus discredited, and by implication their writings too; in any case their writings are shown to have already been written before the revelation given in the text here and hence, by implication shown are to be incomplete and inadequate.<sup>75</sup>

A similar negative attitude to the other apostles, and perhaps their writings, is shown elsewhere. As noted earlier, the text includes three, potentially “new” parables of Jesus. However, it also lists a series of other parables by name (8.6–10).<sup>76</sup> The precise identification of the parables listed here is debated, but it seems likely that they are all parables known from the synoptic tradition.<sup>77</sup> But what is striking here is these are all regarded in a somewhat dismissive way: “it was enough for some to listen to the teaching and understand [the parables mentioned]” (8.4–5). These seem to be what ordinary Christians receive, but now contrasted with the extra revelation available through James and the text here (including further parables given and expounded by the Saviour here). The author of the text may thus show knowledge of the synoptic tradition in some detail. But the status of that tradition seems rather low-grade: the parables from that tradition are not expounded, but are dismissed as those which others think is “enough”, whereas those in the know have further revelations which they have been given.<sup>78</sup>

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75 For a possible negative view of Peter as well in the text, see Donald Rouleau, *L'épître apocryphe de Jacques (NH I, 2)* (Québec: Les Presses de l'université Laval, 1987), 16–17: Peter is portrayed as blind, astonished, and failing to understand. Thus the implied polemic against the other disciples is implicitly extended to Peter as well, leaving James alone as the sole “hero” of the text.

76 “‘The Shepherds’ and ‘The Seed’ and ‘The Building’ and ‘The Lamps of the Virgins’ and ‘The Wage of the Workmen’ and ‘The Didrachmae’ and ‘The Woman’”.

77 See Tuckett, *Nag Hammadi* (n. 29), 88–89.

78 Hence *contra* PHEME PERKINS, *Gnosticism and the New Testament* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993), 72: “*Apocryphon of James* intends to evoke the authority of the canonical Gospels to bolster the esoteric, gnostic teaching presented in the treatise.” The author here may allude to the “authority” of the canonical gospels for some, but the overall thrust of his/her presentation seems to be to call into question that authority.



A further example may be provided by some of the Johannine allusions. In 11.12–13, the text presents the words of the Saviour as “Woe to you, you who need an Advocate (Paraclete)! Woe to you who stand in need of grace!” this seems to be a clear allusion to Johannine promises about the coming of the Paraclete, as well as possibly to I John 1:9; 2:1–2. Rather than claiming that the true Gnostic alone has a/the Paraclete,<sup>79</sup> the text seems to be polemicizing against those who appeal to the need (and perhaps the answered need) of a Paraclete as in the Johannine promises.

Similarly in 3.17–25, there seems to be a clear allusion to the words of John 20:29: “Woe to those who have seen the son of man; blessed will be those who have not seen the man and they who have not consorted with him, and they who have not spoken with him, and they who have not listened to anything from him: yours is life!” This is not really a legitimization of the author’s group.<sup>80</sup> Rather it seems to be a direct criticism of those who may have been with Jesus during his lifetime “as if to say that such people have only known with their outward senses the earthly and not the heavenly being.”<sup>81</sup> The apostles who accompanied Jesus during his earthly lifetime are thus shown to be inadequate and hence too their writings, referred to initially, are shown to be equally inadequate. It is perhaps an example of heavy irony. In this case the Johannine saying is adopted and affirmed; but it is applied in such a way and in an overall context that seeks to undermine the status and authority of precisely the text to which allusion is made.

Thus for all the close verbal similarities at many points between the text of the Apocryphon of James and the canonical gospels in the form of allusions and echoes, the author shows a highly critical attitude to those gospel texts and their traditions. While content to use their words at times, s/he is basically not concerned to interpret them in any positive way. What matters far more is the new revelation which the Gnostic writer claims to possess in the teaching available through what James has here experienced and set down in writing.

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<sup>79</sup> So Perkins, “Johannine Traditions” (n. 78), 413, who may be using a slightly inaccurate translation (“Woe to those without a Paraclete”): see Hill, *Johannine Corpus* (n. 69), 255; also Rouleau, *Épître* (n. 75), 124.

<sup>80</sup> So e.g. Perkins, “Johannine Traditions” (n. 78), 411

<sup>81</sup> Hill, *Johannine Corpus* (n. 69), 256. Cf. too Fred E. Williams in *Nag Hammadi Codex I. Notes*, 11: “The woe is directed against orthodox Christians, whose religion is founded on the canonical Gospels.”

## 4 Conclusion

Such a negative attitude to the canonical gospels is perhaps not at all surprising. Indeed one could argue that such an attitude is fundamental to the whole Gnostic enterprise which claims to have access to hidden knowledge, and secret revelation, which is not open to all. And for many Gnostics, this secret revelation goes far beyond simply interpreting the texts which are publicly available in the wider Christian community. A widely used genre for Gnostic writings is that of a “revelation dialogue”, in which the Revealer (typically Jesus in a post-resurrection scene) gives further instruction to his followers. In such a dialogue, the Saviour (or Revealer) does not expound earlier teaching and give its interpretation; he gives new teaching that goes above and beyond what has been said before. Any “exegesis” of earlier teaching (as recorded, for example, in the canonical gospels) plays at most a very subsidiary role. One can perhaps see this implicit claim, and the more “orthodox” rejoinder and complaint about such a claim, in the dispute that comes at the end of the Gospel of Mary. In that dispute, Andrew and Peter criticise Mary and the vision she has recounted, and in return are (relatively mildly) rebuked by Levi. But certainly Andrew’s complaint, and arguably the main thrust of Peter’s too, is that Mary’s revelation provides something that is new: Andrew says “these teachings seem to be giving different ideas” (17.14–15), and Peter says “he did not speak with a woman without our knowing, *and not openly*, did he?” (17.18–20). Although many have fastened on the possible gender issues raised by Peter’s comment here, there is an equally powerful motif, common to the words placed in the mouth of both Andrew and Peter, complaining about the novelty, and the secret nature, of the teaching given.<sup>82</sup> And this is reflected too, in stronger terms, in the writings of someone such as Irenaeus who claims that the “true” (“orthodox”) teaching can be found in the publicly known and available documents of the church, supremely in the four gospels, whereas the Gnostics use esoteric, secret traditions found in other, not publicly accessible, texts (such as their “Gospel of Truth”: see above).

Many Gnostic writers evidently did know the canonical gospels, and echoes of, and allusions to, the wording of those gospels slip out at various points (in varying degrees in different writings). Sometimes it seems the wording of those gospels provided the basis for the new teaching which Gnostic writers wished to propound. We have seen this in relation to the parables (such as in Gospel Truth), though the evidence for extensive use of the parables is not as strong in the Gnostic texts themselves as one might expect from what is said

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<sup>82</sup> See Tuckett, *Gospel of Mary* (n. 33), 197.

by the church fathers. At times too Gnostic writers were happy to take over the wording of what had been said in earlier traditions and re-use it in their own context; but even here there is very little explicit appeal to the authority of the older tradition to give added status to what was said. But alongside this was an equally strong concerted effort at times to rewrite the story from the canonical gospels and implicitly to undermine its status (cf. above on the accounts of the crucifixion). In this, the earlier tradition is no longer respected as authoritative with an alternative (“correct”) interpretation now provided; rather, the tradition itself is questioned – even if at times, with some powerful irony, the tradition itself can be used to question the authority of those who have claimed status for it (see above on the Apocryphon of James).



Tobias Nicklas

## Zwischen Redaktion und „Neuinszenierung“

### Vom Umgang erzählender Evangelien des 2. Jahrhunderts mit ihren Vorlagen

Wenn Irenäus von Lyon, an der Wende vom zweiten zum dritten Jahrhundert unserer Zeitrechnung stehend, die heute kanonische Sammlung der vier Evangelien theologisch zu begründen sucht und sie damit zugleich verteidigt, dann hat dies einerseits mit der Tatsache zu tun, dass viele der für ihn als „Häretiker“ geltenden Gruppierungen nur eines dieser vier Evangelien anerkennen (und seiner Meinung nach falsch auslegen) (vgl. Haer. III 11,7), andererseits aber auch damit, dass zu seiner Zeit bereits eine Vielzahl anderer, aus seiner Sicht gefälschter Evangelien im Umlauf war. Die Textfunde aus Nag Hammadi, aber auch die Entdeckung und Edition von Überresten einiger solcher Schriften, die sich zum Teil auf Papyrusfragmenten (vor allem) Oberägyptens, zum Teil aber auch in den Zitaten altkirchlicher Autoren erhalten haben, gibt uns heute einen sicherlich nicht vollständigen, doch zunehmend differenzierten Überblick über die noch im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert herrschende Vielfalt, die gleichzeitig unseren „Begriff“ von „Evangelien“ zu einer enormen Herausforderung werden lässt.<sup>1</sup> Ich möchte im Folgenden – ein wenig gewagt und sicherlich holzschnittartig – den Versuch unternehmen, verschiedene Modelle des Zueinanders von „Evangelienchriften“ vor allem des 2. Jahrhunderts zu den kanonisch gewordenen Texten zu entwerfen. Dabei beschränke ich mich auf erzählende Texte, in deren Mittelpunkt wenigstens Teile einer Jesus- oder Christuserzählung stehen, und lasse die Vielfalt der vorhandenen Dialogevangelien, aber auch eine Schrift wie das Thomasevangelium für den Moment außen vor. Dass der vorgegebene Rahmen zudem keinen vollständigen Überblick auch des verbleibenden Materials erlaubt, dürfte klar sein.

Meine These, die ich im Folgenden an einer Reihe von Beispielen zu erhärten suche, ist die Folgende: Die Entstehung der erzählenden Evangelien des (vornehmlich) 2. Jahrhunderts unserer Zeitrechnung verdankt sich (a) Prozessen re-

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<sup>1</sup> Im Grunde lässt sich der Begriff „Evangelium“ kaum mehr als Gattungsbezeichnung im klassischen Sinne verwenden. Ich verwende ihn im weitesten Sinne einer „Jesuserzählung“. Pragmatisch könnte man auch einfach Texte, die sich selbst als „Evangelium“ bezeichnen oder die aufgrund ihrer Titel als „Evangelium“ bezeichnet werden, als „Evangelien“ einordnen. Dann jedoch würde man wohl bei vielen Fragmenten sehr schnell an Grenzen stoßen.

daktioneller Arbeit an den später kanonisch gewordenen Schriften,<sup>2</sup> (b) der „Neuinszenierung“ von Erzählungen, die sich auch in den kanonischen Schriften finden, und (c) kreativer Neuschöpfung von Texten, die zum Teil aufgrund der sich ändernden sozialen wie theologischen Bedingungen in neuen historischen Kontexten notwendig werden. Darüber hinaus ist natürlich auch an die Übernahme und Verarbeitung von mündlichen Traditionen zu denken, die sich jenseits und an der Seite der kanonisch gewordenen Evangelien bis ins 2. Jahrhundert erhalten haben mögen.<sup>3</sup> Ich bin hier aber eher zurückhaltend. Damit nehme ich gleichzeitig Stellung gegen die immer noch vertretene These, dass „apokryphe“ Evangelien vor allem versuchten, Lücken in der Jesuserzählung der kanonischen Evangelien aufzufüllen.<sup>4</sup> Natürlich steht keines der heute bekannten Evangelien des 2. Jahrhunderts für einen der drei Prozesse in absoluter Reinform; vielmehr ist davon auszugehen, dass sich (im Grunde in nahezu jedem Text) Beispiele für alle drei Kategorien finden. Trotz all dem halte ich es für sinnvoll, wenigstens grob zu kategorisieren. Wenn ich im Folgenden von „redaktioneller Bearbeitung“ spreche, dann setze ich einen sehr weitgehend literarischen Prozess voraus, das heißt die Überarbeitung und Kompilation schriftlich (möglichst unmittelbar) vorliegender Quellen.<sup>5</sup> Trotzdem habe ich auch in diesem Fall keine Probleme, den Redaktor in einem weiten Sinne als Autor bzw. Verfasser des neu entstandenen Textes zu bezeichnen. Von einer „Neuinszenierung“ spreche ich, wenn sich zwar wahrscheinlich machen lässt, dass ein Autor bereits vorliegende schriftliche Evangelien bzw. Jesuserzählungen kennt, dass seine Erzählung aber mit diesen so frei umgeht, dass aus ihr nicht klar hervorgeht, inwiefern und wie er diese als schriftliche Vorlagen verarbeitet hat.<sup>6</sup> Die „neue“ Erzählung folgt zwar

<sup>2</sup> Dabei ist in Einzelfällen der Übergang zwischen Redaktion und Eingriffen auf der Ebene der Überlieferung fließend. Man denke z. B. an die beiden verschiedenen Fassungen der kanonischen Apostelgeschichte.

<sup>3</sup> Von den Berichten „der lebendigen und bleibenden Stimme“ spricht immerhin noch Papias von Hierapolis (bei Eusebius von Caesarea, Hist. eccl. III 39,4).

<sup>4</sup> So z. B. Karl Jaroš, *Das Neue Testament und seine Autoren: Eine Einführung*, UTB (Köln/Weimar/Wien: Böhlau, 2008), 269 (bezogen auf apokryphe Kindheitsevangelien). Dass sich die Situation stattdessen deutlich komplexer darstellt, zeigen z. B. die Beiträge in Jean-Michel Roessli und Tobias Nicklas, Hg., *Christian Apocrypha: Receptions of the New Testament in Ancient Christian Apocrypha*, NTP 26 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2014).

<sup>5</sup> Dies muss nicht heißen, dass die redaktionell bearbeitete Quelle sich beim Prozess der Redaktion tatsächlich buchstäblich auf dem Schreibtisch des Redaktors befunden haben muss, dies setzt jedoch eine sehr genaue Kenntnis des zu redigierenden Texts sowie eine an schriftlichen Vorlagen orientierte Arbeitstechnik, d. h. zumindest die Möglichkeit, den Ausgangstext in schriftlicher Form zu konsultieren, voraus.

<sup>6</sup> Vgl. weiterführend auch den Beitrag von Giovanni Bazzana im vorliegenden Band, der den gleichen Begriff in Bezug auf Logientraditionen verwendet.

grundlegenden Linien der schriftlichen Vorlage und bietet entscheidende Motive der alten Erzählung, geht aber so frei mit diesen um, dass sich manche Änderungen gegenüber der Vorlage nur dann erklären, wenn diese bei der Niederlegung des neuen Textes nicht unmittelbar herangezogen wurde. Mit anderen Worten: Ich spreche von einer „Neuinszenierung“, wenn nicht klar ist, ob der Autor des 2. Jahrhunderts eine schriftliche Vorlage vor sich hatte oder er eine solche nur aus mündlicher Überlieferung (zum Beispiel durch Vorlesen, vielleicht aber auch durch Erzählungen, die sich bereits an einer schriftlichen Vorgabe orientieren konnten) kannte.<sup>7</sup> Dies ist vor allem dann möglich, wenn eine Erzählung – zum Beispiel die Geschichte von der Passion Jesu – sich bereits (aufgrund verschiedenster Medien) wenigstens in entscheidenden Zügen im „kulturellen Gedächtnis“ einer Gruppe festgesetzt hat.<sup>8</sup> Von kreativer Neuschöpfung, bei der natürlich nicht immer mit letzter Sicherheit bewiesen werden kann (aber auch nicht muss), ob sie vom Autor unseres außerkanonischen Evangeliums stammt oder aus einer diesem vorliegenden, heute verlorenen, wie auch immer gearteten Quelle oder Tradition, würde ich schließlich sprechen, wenn sich keinerlei Parallelen in den kanonisch gewordenen Evangelien finden, sich jedoch Gründe für die Entstehung bzw. Produktion der neuen Erzählung erkennen lassen.

## 1 Redaktionelle Überarbeitung der kanonisch gewordenen Evangelien

Das klassische, auch für die Zweiquellentheorie zur Entstehung der Synoptiker entscheidende Modell eines frühchristlichen Autors, der eine oder mehrere ihm schriftlich vorliegende Texte redaktionell miteinander verarbeitet, sie an einigen

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<sup>7</sup> Ich habe den Begriff erstmals im Zusammenhang meiner Erklärung des fragmentarischen Texts auf P.Oxy. 5072 verwendet: Vgl. Tobias Nicklas, „Eine neue alte Erzählung im Rahmen antiker Jesustraditionen: Reste eines Exorzismus auf P.Oxy. lxxvi 5072,“ in *Annali di storia dell' esegesi* 29 (2012): 13–27; jetzt auch (mit anderen Beispielen) ders., „Absonderlich und geschmacklos? Antike christliche Wundergeschichten zwischen ‚kanonisch‘ und ‚apokryph‘,“ in *Between Canonical and Apocryphal Texts: Processes of Reception, Rewriting and Interpretation in Early Judaism and Early Christianity*, hg. Jörg Frey, Claire Clivaz und Tobias Nicklas, WUNT (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2018) [im Druck].

<sup>8</sup> Mit dieser Formulierung folge ich der Idee, dass es Formen sozialer Erinnerung gibt, die mit der Identitätskonstruktion von Gruppen und Gemeinschaften zu tun haben und deren Einzelbestandteile keineswegs der Erinnerung der Gruppenmitglieder an von ihnen individuell Erlebtes entsprechen (müssen). Hierzu z. B. die grundlegenden Gedanken bei Jan Assmann, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis: Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen* (München: Beck, 32000).

Stellen glättet, an anderen erweitert und dabei seinen literarischen wie theologischen Vorstellungen anpasst, um so ein neues, wenigstens in Teilen aber eng an seinen Vorlagen orientiertes Werk zu erstellen, spielt meines Erachtens nur in einigen wenigen Evangelien des 2. Jahrhunderts die entscheidende Rolle. Die beiden vielleicht wichtigsten Beispiele, das Evangelium Marcions und das (meist als Diatessaron bezeichnete) Evangelium Tatians, sind uns zudem nur in höchst fragmentarischem Zustand erhalten. Da sich in den vergangenen Jahren gleich mehrere Arbeiten mit den Redaktionstendenzen beider Evangelien auseinander setzten bzw. diese vorstellten,<sup>9</sup> möchte ich mich stattdessen auf einen anderen Text, die Fragmente des Evangeliums der Ebionäer, konzentrieren. Der Text, von dem allein Zitate im Panarion des Epiphanius von Salamis erhalten sind, dürfte mit einiger Wahrscheinlichkeit in der Mitte des 2. Jahrhunderts entstanden sein.<sup>10</sup> Trotzdem ist das erhaltene Material zu umfangreich, um eine Gesamtanalyse *en detail* bieten zu können. Ich beschränke mich deswegen auf einige Beispiele und folge dabei der Zählung von Jörg Frey,<sup>11</sup> der in seiner Übersetzung der Fragmente bereits auf viele entscheidende Intertexte verwiesen hat.

Dass bereits Epiphanius die Schrift offenbar als Ergebnis eines Redaktionsprozesses verstanden hat, ergibt sich auch aus einer Reihe seiner eigenen Angaben: Laut Haer. XXX 13,2 (Frg. 1 Frey) ist das bei den Ebionäern verwendete Evangelium mit dem Titel „nach Matthäus“ (κατὰ Ματθαῖον ὀνομαζομένῳ)<sup>12</sup> bzw.

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**9** Vgl. zum Evangelium Marcions Matthias Klinghardt, *Das älteste Evangelium und die Entstehung der kanonischen Evangelien*, 2 Bde., TANZ 60/1–2 (Tübingen/Basel: Francke, 2014) sowie Dieter Roth, *The Text of Marcion's Gospel*, NTTS 49 (Leiden et al.: Brill, 2015), die beide so weit gehen, große Teile des Texts des Evangeliums Marcions zu rekonstruieren, sowie (etwas zurückhaltender, doch ebenfalls deutlich Redaktionstendenzen aufzeigend) Judith Lieu, *Marcion and the Making of a Heretic: God and Scripture in the Second Century* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 183–233. Zudem siehe den Beitrag von Dan Smith im vorliegenden Band [mit weiterer Sekundärliteratur]. – Zu Tatians Evangelium, das erst seit Eusebius von Caesarea als Diatessaron bezeichnet, vor allem deswegen aber häufig nicht für sich als Evangelium, sondern als Evangelienharmonie beschrieben wird, vgl. nun den bahnbrechenden Beitrag von Francis Watson, „Towards a Redaction-Critical Reading of the Diatessaron,“ in *EC* 7 (2016) 95–112.

**10** Wichtige Einleitungsfragen behandelt zuverlässig Jörg Frey, „Die Fragmente des Ebionäerevangeliums,“ in *Antike christliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung I: Evangelien und Verwandtes*, hg. Christoph Marksches und Jens Schröter (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), 607–20, bes. 607–616 (vgl. auch die auf S. 621 zu findende Synopse zur Zählung der Fragmente).

**11** Ebenda.

**12** Es stellt sich allerdings die Frage, wie zuverlässig Epiphanius hier ist, ist es doch durchaus denkbar, dass er hier einfach die Notiz aus Haer. I 26,2 verarbeitet, dass die Ebionäer alleine das Matthäusevangelium verwenden. Vgl. auch Frey, „Fragmente“ (Anm. 10), 608–9, der schreibt: „Über den tatsächlichen Titel des bei den Ebionäern verwendeten Evangeliums oder über deren eigene Benennung des Werks kann die Notiz [...] kaum Auskunft geben“.



als „Hebräisches [Evangelium]“ benannt (Ἑβραϊκὸν δὲ τοῦτο καλοῦσιν), was kaum auf die Sprache bezogen, sondern wohl als Ehrenbezeichnung – das Evangelium für die, die sich weiterhin als „Hebräer“ verstehen – anzusehen ist. Doch damit nicht genug: Epiphanius setzt das ihm bekannte Evangelium der Ebionäer auch mit dem kanonischen Matthäusevangelium in Bezug: Ersteres sei „unvollständig, vielmehr gefälscht und verstümmelt“ (οὐχ ὅλῳ ... πληρεστάτῳ ἀλλὰ νενοθευμένῳ καὶ ἡκρωτηριασμένῳ). Dies ist natürlich kein neutrales Urteil, wird die Redaktionsarbeit der Ebionäer doch sehr eindeutig mit dem häufig bei Negativurteilen gegenüber apokryphen Schriften begegnenden Label „Fälschung“ abgetan und zudem das Verb ἡκρωτεριάζω verwendet, das gerne im Zusammenhang mit den bei Leprakranken auftretenden Verstümmelungen eingesetzt wird. Etwas konkreter wird Frg. 2b (Haer. XXX 14,3), wo wir lesen, die Ebionäer hätten die bei Matthäus zu findenden Genealogien (Mt 1,1–17) „abgehauen“ (παράκοψαντες),<sup>13</sup> laut Frg. 7 (Haer. III 22,4) in den Satz Jesu, „Ich begehre, an diesem Pascha Fleisch mit euch zu essen“ ein μή, sowie das Wort „Fleisch“ (κρέας) eingefügt und so den ursprünglichen Sinn verkehrt.<sup>14</sup> Auch wenn Epiphanius sehr deutlich polemisiert, wird jedoch an beiden Passagen deutlich, dass er so etwas wie einen literarischen Prozess der Überarbeitung eines bereits schriftlich vorhandenen Evangeliums voraussetzt.<sup>15</sup> Interessanterweise geht er, wie das Zueinander von Frg. 2a und 2b deutlich macht, jedoch selbst mit dem Evangelium der Ebionäer sehr frei um, unterscheiden sich seine beiden Zitate der offenbar gleichen Textpassage recht deutlich voneinander:<sup>16</sup>

Fragment 2a (Haer. XXX 13,6)

ἐγένετο ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Ἡρώδου βασιλέως τῆς Ἰουδαίας, ἦλθεν Ἰωάννης βαπτίζων βάπτισμα μετανοίας ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ ποταμῷ, ὃς ἐλέγετο εἶναι ἐκ γένους Ἀαρὼν τοῦ ἱερέως, παῖς Ζαχαρίου καὶ Ἐλισάβετ, καὶ ἐξέρχοντο πρὸς αὐτὸν πάντες ...

**13** Auch das hier verwendete Verb παρακόπτω trägt durchaus auch negative Assoziationen, kann es doch auch im Bezug von „Täuschung“ oder „Betrug“ verwendet werden.

**14** Übersetzung Frey, „Fragmente“ (Anm. 10), 620: „Weshalb aber wurde ihr Leichtsinn nicht aufgespürt, da doch die Wortfolge schreit, dass das My und das Eta hinzugesetzt sind? Denn anstatt zu sagen: ‚ich begehre‘, haben sie das ‚nicht‘ als Zusatz hinzugefügt. In Wahrheit hat er aber gesagt: ‚Ich begehre dieses Passah mit euch zu essen.‘ Sie aber, indem sie das ‚Fleisch‘ hinzuschrieben, begaben sich leichtsinnig in Irrtum und sagten: ‚Nicht begehre ich, an diesem Passah Fleisch mit euch zu essen.‘“

**15** Dies heißt natürlich nicht automatisch, dass er diesen auch korrekt beschreibt.

**16** Ähnliches lässt sich in Frg. 7 (Haer. XXX 22,4) beobachten, wo das gleiche Jesuswort kurz hintereinander in zwei verschiedenen Formen wiedergegeben wird. Zunächst: μή ἐπιθυμία ἐπεθύμησα κρέας τοῦτο τὸ Πάσχα φαγεῖν μεθ' ὑμῶν und dann: μή ἐπιθυμία ἐπεθύμησα τοῦτο τὸ Πάσχα κρέας φαγεῖν μεθ' ὑμῶν.

Fragment 2b (Haer. XXX 14,3):

ἐγένετο ... ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Ἡρώδου βασιλέως τῆς Ἰουδαίας, **ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως Καϊάφα**, ἦλθεν **τις** Ἰωάννης **ὀνόματι** βαπτίζων βάπτισμα μετανοίας ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ ποταμῷ, **καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς**

Beide Zusätze gegenüber 2a jedoch sind signifikant: Die Worte „unter dem Hohenpriester Kajaphas“ in 2b signalisieren ein gegenüber 2a erhöhtes Interesse an historischer Einordnung der Szene, die an das Lukasevangelium erinnert (vgl. Lk 1,5; 3,1–4; vgl. jedoch auch Mk 1,4–5; Mt 3,5–6),<sup>17</sup> während die Wortfolge **τις** Ἰωάννης **ὀνόματι** erzählerisch geschickter als in Frg. 2a Johannes als einen bisher Unbekannten einführen. Wichtiger aber ist: Die möglichen Redaktionstendenzen des Evangeliums der Ebionäer gegenüber den kanonisch gewordenen Evangelien konkret zu bestimmen, ist sowohl aufgrund der Fragmentarizität der Überlieferung, als auch der Tatsache, dass Epiphanius kaum an einer objektiven Darstellung der Ebionäer interessiert ist, erschwert.<sup>18</sup> Neben diese bekannten Probleme tritt, dass Epiphanius offenbar (wenigstens an der genannten Stelle) schlampig zitiert und zudem natürlich nicht klar ist, wie gut das ihm zugängliche Exemplar des Ebionäerevangeliums tatsächlich dessen ursprünglichen Text wiedergibt.

Trotzdem sind einige redaktionelle Eingriffe auch deswegen klar, weil Epiphanius deutlichen Wert auf sie legt, sie aber auch in ein ansonsten nachvollziehbares Profil der Ebionäer als jüdischer Jesuanhänger passen:<sup>19</sup> Die bekannteste Stelle findet sich sicherlich in Frg. 3 (Haer. XXX 13,4–5), der Erzählung vom Wirken Johannes des Täufers, wo Epiphanius selbst auf einen Unterschied zu den kanonischen Vorlagen verweist. Während die bei Mk 1,6 (par. Mt 3,4) genannten Heuschrecken (ἀκρίδας) wegfallen, ist nur noch von „wildem Honig“ die Rede, der jetzt nun jedoch näher bestimmt wird: Sein Geschmack sei der von Manna, „wie in Öl gebackener Kuchen“ (ὡς ἐγκρίς ἐν ἐλαίῳ). Epiphanius kommentiert: „So wollten sie das Wort der Wahrheit in Lüge verkehren, und an die Stelle der Heuschrecken Honigkuchen setzen.“ Natürlich ersetzt der „Honigkuchen“ im Evangelium der Ebionäer nicht einfach die Rede von den Heuschrecken, sondern erklärt – anklingend an Num 11,8 LXX (ἡ ἡδονὴ αὐτοῦ ὥσει γεῦμα ἐγκρίς ἐξ ἐλαίου) – den Geschmack des von Johannes verzehrten wilden Honigs. Die von Epiphanius als Lüge verurteilte redaktionelle Änderung des Textes verdankt sich

<sup>17</sup> Interessanterweise jedoch unterläuft dem Text eine auch in anderen Schriften des 2. Jh. erkennbare Verwechselung Herodes d. Gr. mit Herodes Antipas.

<sup>18</sup> Grundsätzlich hierzu Joseph Verheyden, „Epiphanius on the Ebionites,“ in *The Image of the Judaeo-Christians in Ancient Jewish and Christian Literature*, hg. Peter Tomson und Doris Lambersy-Petry, WUNT 158 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), 182–208.

<sup>19</sup> Hierzu vgl. auch knapp Tobias Nicklas, *Jews and Christians? Second Century 'Christian' Perspectives on the 'Parting of the Ways'* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 205–208 sowie Richard Bauckham, „The Origin of the Ebionites,“ in *The Image* (Anm. 18), 162–81.

so wahrscheinlich zwei Schritten: Zunächst dürfte den (wahrscheinlich) aus halachischen Gründen vegetarisch lebenden Ebionäern ein Johannes, welcher selbst Heuschrecken verzehrte, bei denen im Zweifelsfall nicht absolut klar war, welche von ihnen als *kosher* gelten konnten und welche nicht, als problematisch erschienen sein.<sup>20</sup> Gleichzeitig erlaubte die Erwähnung von „wildem Honig“, diesen mit dem Manna in Bezug zu setzen,<sup>21</sup> mit dem einst Israel ernährt worden war, wodurch wiederum der Wechsel von ἀκρίς zu ἐγκρίς möglich wurde. Wie genau der Vorgang zu denken ist, ist natürlich nicht mehr klar zu rekonstruieren. Mit dem neuen Text jedoch entsteht ein vegetarischer, bewusst (die offenbar strengen) *Kashrut* der Ebionäer befolgender Johannes, dessen Zustand gleichzeitig an den des Volkes Israel in der Wüste erinnert.<sup>22</sup> Konnten sich auch die Ebionäer mit diesem (Ideal-)Zustand identifizieren? Ich halte dies für zumindest denkbar.

Gleichzeitig zeigt bereits die eben erwähnte Szene, dass das Evangelium der Ebionäer nicht einfach nur als überarbeitetes Matthäusevangelium betrachtet werden kann. Im Detail lautet der Text von Frg. 3 nämlich folgendermaßen:

Καὶ ἐγένετο Ἰωάννης βαπτίζων, καὶ ἐξῆλθεν πρὸς αὐτὸν Φαρισαῖοι καὶ ἐβαπτίσθησαν καὶ πᾶσα Ἱερουσόλυμα. καὶ εἶχεν ὁ Ἰωάννης ἔνδυμα ἀπὸ τριχῶν καμήλου καὶ ζώνην δερματίνην περὶ τὴν ὀσφὺν αὐτοῦ. ...

Dies erinnert natürlich an Mt 3,1,4:

Ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις παραγίνεται Ἰωάννης ὁ βαπτιστὴς κηρύσσων ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ... εἶχεν τὸ ἔνδυμα αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τριχῶν καμήλου καὶ ζώνην δερματίνην περὶ τὴν ὀσφὺν αὐτοῦ ...

Während der zweite Teil der Aussage so wörtlich an Mt 3,4 anklingt, dass an literarische Abhängigkeit zu denken ist und das Wegfallen des Attributs αὐτοῦ sich leicht durch die erneute Erwähnung des Namens „Johannes“ im Evangelium der Ebionäer erklären lässt, ist der erste Teil kaum an Mt angelehnt. Kann aus der Übereinstimmung der ersten Worte mit dem ἐγένετο Ἰωάννης [ὁ] βαπτίζων aus Mk 1,4 geschlossen werden, dass hier bewusst mit dem zweiten Evangelium harmonisiert wird? Dies ist denkbar, vielleicht aber bereits zu technisch gedacht. Satz 2

<sup>20</sup> Zum halachischen Problem vgl. James Kelhoffer, *The Diet of John the Baptist: „Locusts and Wild Honey“ in Synoptic and Patristic Interpretation*, WUNT 176 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), 40 – 59.

<sup>21</sup> Zum Verhältnis von Manna, himmlischer Speise und Honig in frühjüdischer Literatur vgl. weiterführend Tobias Nicklas, „Food of Angels“ (Wis 16:20),“ in *Studies in the Book of Wisdom*, hg. Géza Xeravits und József Zsengellér, JSJ.S 142 (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2010), 83 – 100.

<sup>22</sup> Auch der Jesus des Evangeliums der Ebionäer ist offenbar Vegetarier, wie sich in Frg. 7 (Pan. III 22,4) zeigt, wo Jesus sich weigert, am Pesachmahl Fleisch zu verzehren.

immerhin scheint, auch wenn sich die hier erwähnten Pharisäer (dort aber zusammen mit Sadduzäern) auch in Mt 3,7 finden und die Konzentration auf einer Taufe ganz Jerusalems (ohne die Bewohner Judäas und des Jordanlandes; vgl. Mt 3,5) liegt, die noch dazu im Aorist – ein einmaliges Ereignis beschreibend? – formuliert ist, kaum literarisch an ein kanonisches Evangelium allein angelehnt zu sein. So mag das Matthäusevangelium eine wichtige Vorlage des Evangeliums der Ebionäer gebildet haben, darüber hinaus aber dürften auch Mk und Lk verwendet worden sein. In der eben erwähnten Passage etwa sind die Übereinstimmungen (auch gegen Mk 1,6)<sup>23</sup> über eine ganze Wortreihe so klar, dass an literarische Abhängigkeit von einer schriftlich vorliegenden Kopie des Matthäusevangeliums zu denken ist, mit der jedoch – wie andere Passagen zeigen – so frei umgegangen werden konnte, dass etwa Satz zwei nur noch zwei Motive der Vorlage aufnimmt, andere weglässt und erstere neu zusammengestellt in eine eigene Szene einbaut. Solche Detailbeobachtungen, aber auch zum Beispiel die Aussage des Epiphanius, dass der Text keinen Stammbaum Jesu enthielt (Frg. 2b – Pan. III 14,3), lassen mich, auch wenn in einzelnen Passagen neben klarer an eigenen Interessen erkennbarer Redaktion auch harmonisierende Tendenzen erkennbar sind, zögern, von einer Evangelienharmonie zu sprechen: Was uns erhalten ist, ist zu eigenständig, um dies zu folgern. Damit sind wir bereits sehr nahe an Kategorie 2 angelangt:

## 2 Neuinszenierung von Szenen, die auch aus den kanonisch gewordenen Evangelien bekannt sind

Nicht nur das Evangelium der Ebionäer erzählt Szenen, die sich in vergleichbarer Weise auch in den kanonischen Evangelien finden. In einigen Fällen wie dem Petrus-evangelium oder dem „unbekannten Evangelium“ auf Papyrus Egerton 2 (+ P.Köln 255) hat dies zu teilweise scharf kontrovers geführten Diskussionen um die ja auch die Datierung der Texte betreffende Frage nach literarischen Abhängigkeiten geführt.<sup>24</sup> Im Falle des Petrus-evangeliums etwa reichte die Bandbreite der Antworten von vollkommener Unabhängigkeit zur literarischen Abhängigkeit von

<sup>23</sup> Dort lesen wir zumindest in 6a: καὶ ἦν ὁ Ἰωάννης ἐνδεδυμένος τρίχας καμήλου ...

<sup>24</sup> Zur Diskussion im Zusammenhang mit dem „unbekannten Evangelium“ vgl. Tobias Nicklas, „The ‚Unknown Gospel‘ on Papyrus Egerton 2,“ in *Gospel Fragments*, hg. Thomas J. Kraus, Michael J. Kruger und Tobias Nicklas, Oxford Early Christian Gospel Texts (Oxford et al.: Oxford University Press, 2009), 11–120, bes. 96–100.

allen vier kanonischen Evangelien bis hin zu dem komplexen Modell John Dominic Crossans, der davon ausgeht, dass dem Petrusevangelium ein rekonstruierbares Cross Gospel als Quelle zugrunde liege, das auch die Basis der Passiонерzählungen der anderen Evangelien bilde.<sup>25</sup> So sehr Crossans Modell darauf ausgerichtet ist, mit einem komplexen Modell sowohl Passagen des Petrusevangeliums zu erklären, die deutliche Parallelen zu den kanonischen Evangelien aufweisen, als auch solche, die unabhängig zu sein scheinen, so sehr muss es wohl mit zu vielen Voraussetzungen und inneren Widersprüchen rechnen, um wahrscheinlich gemacht zu werden.<sup>26</sup> Die Lösung des Problems scheint mir stattdessen in einer anderen Richtung zu liegen, in die vor einigen Jahren Joseph Verheyden in einem Beitrag verwiesen hat, in dem er sich mit der Frage auseinandersetzt, aus welchem Grunde das Evangelium nach Petrus verfasst sei. Gegen die übliche Vorstellung, es ließen sich (auch aufgrund der Darstellung der „Juden“)<sup>27</sup> konkrete theologische Gründe für die Entstehung des Evangeliums festmachen, und gegen die Idee, das Petrusevangelium versuche, die kanonischen Evangelien an bestimmten entscheidenden Punkten zu korrigieren, setzt er die folgende These:

The story that GP wants to tell had already been told many times before and had even been put to writing by several others on whom it relied with no clear intention whatsoever to fundamentally challenge or counter these accounts. [...] GP does not want to be innovating. It does not want to sanction other accounts, and I would not call it the work of an 'impositor' either [...] Its agenda is far more modest. He tells a story that was known to all, and he does this in a way that appeals to an audience that was probably as little concerned with doctrine as it was eager for being confirmed in its opinions and prejudices about those who

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25 Eine knappe Übersicht anhand dreier Paradigmen, unter denen er sein eigenes natürlich als richtig herausstellt, bietet J.D. Crossan selbst: Vgl. John D. Crossan, „The Gospel of Peter and the Canonical Gospels,“ in: *Das Evangelium nach Petrus: Text, Kontexte, Intertexte*, hg. Thomas J. Kraus und Tobias Nicklas, TU 158 (Berlin/ New York: de Gruyter, 2007), 117–34.

26 Eine ausführlich kritische Diskussion des Crossan'schen Modells bieten z.B. James H. Charlesworth und Craig A. Evans, „Jesus in the Agrapha and Apocryphal Gospels,“ in *Studying the Historical Jesus: Evaluations of the State of Current Research*, hg. Bruce Chilton und Craig A. Evans, NTTS 19 (Leiden u. a.: Brill, 1994), 479–533, hier 503–514. Darüber hinaus sollte uns bereits die Tatsache, dass wir es beim Akhmim-Codex mit einer Handschrift des 6./7. Jh. zu tun haben, die kaum einen ganz ursprünglichen Text des 2. Jh. bewahrt, vor leichtsinnigen quellen- und literarkritischen Operationen an diesem Text warnen.

27 Joseph Verheyden, „Some Reflections on Determining the Purpose of the ‚Gospel of Peter‘,“ in *Das Evangelium nach Petrus* (Anm. 25), 281–298, setzt sich konkret mit meinem Beitrag Tobias Nicklas, „Die ‚Juden‘ im Petrusevangelium (PCair. 10759): Ein Testfall,“ *NTS* 47 (2001), 206–221, auseinander; das Thema wurde jedoch auch in neuester Zeit wieder aufgegriffen: Vgl. Philipp Augustin, *Die Juden im Petrusevangelium: Narratologische Analyse und theologiegeschichtliche Kontextualisierung*, BZNW 214 (Berlin/Boston: de Gruyter, 2015).

it was convinced had murdered Jesus. In short, the author does not so much give 'his', but rather 'the' account of the story of Jesus as it was readily understood and accepted by his readers.<sup>28</sup>

Ich denke, dass dieser Gedanke, so sehr meines Erachtens jeder Erzähler auch immer seine Version der Geschichte erzählt, wenn er (oder sie) „die“ Geschichte zu erzählen sucht, nicht nur für das Petrus-evangelium fruchtbar zu machen ist. Ich habe in einem anderen Zusammenhang davon gesprochen, dass sich eine Reihe von Eigenschaften mancher erzählender Evangelien bzw. Evangelienfragmente des 2. Jahrhunderts als „Neuinszenierung“ von Passagen bereits bekannter, möglicherweise bereits in schriftlicher Form vorliegender Texte erklären lässt.<sup>29</sup> Ich denke dabei daran, dass Erzählungen, die für eine bestimmte Gruppe von Menschen von Bedeutung sind, je nach Kontext, in dem sie memoriert werden, nicht einfach nur anhand schriftlicher Vorlagen weitergegeben werden, sondern aufgrund verschiedener Medien in das „kollektive Gedächtnis“<sup>30</sup> der betreffenden Gemeinschaft Einzug halten. Dies kann über Bilder, rituelle bzw. liturgische Inszenierung (eventuell unter Einbezug musikalischer Elemente), aber auch die Markierung bestimmter bedeutsamer Orte geschehen.<sup>31</sup> Während sich kaum all diese Elemente für das Christentum im 2. Jahrhundert unserer Zeitrechnung nachweisen lassen, ist doch davon auszugehen, dass selbst da, wo die Evangelien des späteren Neuen Testaments (oder wenigstens eines von ihnen) in schriftlicher Form zugänglich waren, dies nicht bedeutete, dass ab einer Phase mündlicher Überlieferung eine Phase rein an Schrifttexten orientierter Weitergabe der Jesus-tradition erfolgte. Im Grunde ist das bis heute da nicht der Fall, wo – zum Beispiel in Schule und Katechese – weiterhin Jesusgeschichten auf ein bestimmtes Publikum hin erzählt werden.<sup>32</sup> Dass solchen Neuerzählungen in einem weiten Sinne geradezu die Form einer „Inszenierung“ zukommen kann, zeigt an ältester

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**28** Verheyden, „Some Reflections“ (Anm. 27), 298.

**29** Vgl. T. Nicklas, „P.Oxy. 5072“ (Anm. 7).

**30** Ein im weiten Sinne vergleichbares Modell, das EvPe als bereits auf eine im „kulturellen Gedächtnis“ der Gruppe verankerte Erzählung zu verstehen, vertritt Alan Kirk, „The Johannine Jesus in the Gospel of Peter: A Social Memory Approach“, in *Jesus in Johannine Tradition*, hg. Robert T. Fortna und Tom Thatcher, (Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox, 2001), 313–321, sowie, ders., „Tradition and Memory in the Gospel of Peter“, in *Das Evangelium nach Petrus* (Anm. 25), 135–158.

**31** Zum frühen Christentum als einer Religion, in der Erinnerungslandschaften eine entscheidende Rolle spielen, vgl. Tobias Nicklas, „Neutestamentlicher Kanon, christliche Apokryphen und antik-christliche ‚Erinnerungskulturen‘“, in *NTS* 62 (2016), 588–609.

**32** Die derzeitige digitale Revolution wird die Möglichkeiten von „Neuinszenierung“ sicherlich noch einmal um ein Vielfaches vergrößern.

christlicher Literatur vielleicht schon Paulus, wenn er etwa in Gal 3,1 davon spricht, dass der Gekreuzigte in seiner Verkündigung den Galatern geradezu sinnlich „vor Augen geführt“ wurde.“<sup>33</sup> Wo die Möglichkeit besteht, anhand schriftlich vorliegender, in gewissem Maße autoritativer Texte nachprüfen zu können, was dort niedergeschrieben ist, kann dies einschränkend auf die Vielfalt von „Neuinszenierungen“ wirken, dies gilt aber auch da, wo diese wenigstens in großen Linien und aufgrund wichtiger Motive bekannt sind. Trotzdem ist die Freiheit der „Neuinszenierung“ gegenüber bereits bestehenden Erzählungen größer als die der stärker an der literarischen Vorlage arbeitenden Redaktion. In den allermeisten Fällen sind derartige neu-inszenierte Erzählungen – ich verwende den Begriff auch deswegen, weil ein guter Erzähler selbst zum Medium wird, der „in Szene setzt“ – nur für den Moment, einen sehr konkreten Kontext bestimmt. Und tatsächlich wird auch der Erzähler/ die Erzählerin in diesem Fall einfach „die“ Geschichte zu erzählen suchen, die gleichwohl bereits zu seiner bzw. ihrer Geschichte geworden ist. Auch wenn ich nicht dahingehend missverstanden werden möchte, dass etwa das Petrus-evangelium eine „Mitschrift“ einer solchen „Neuinszenierung“ sei, lässt sich dieser wie auch andere Evangelien des 2. Jahrhunderts meines Erachtens besser mit dem Paradigma einer schriftlich festgehaltenen Neuerzählung oder Neuinszenierung begreifen als aufgrund eines an vorliegenden literarischen Vorlagen orientierten Redaktionsprozesses.<sup>34</sup> Ich möchte für den Moment nur ein Beispiel genauer vorstellen, um deutlich zu machen, was ich damit konkret meine:

Die Frage, ob und inwiefern das Evangelium nach Petrus das Johannes-evangelium voraussetzt oder nicht, ist nicht einfach zu beantworten.<sup>35</sup> Immerhin

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**33** Dominika Kurek-Chomyc, „Performing the Passion, Embodying Proclamation: The Story of Jesus's Passion in the Pauline Letters?“, in *Gospel Images of Jesus Christ in Church Tradition and in Biblical Scholarship*, hg. Christos Karakolis, Karl-Wilhelm Niebuhr und Sviatoslav Rogalsky, WUNT 288 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), 372–402, hier 389–396, spricht in diesem Zusammenhang von „Performance“.

**34** Wie Timothy P. Henderson, *The Gospel of Peter and Early Christian Apologetics*, WUNT II.301 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011) setze ich an der Beobachtung an, dass das literarische Verhältnis des Petrus-evangeliums anders zu beschreiben ist als das etwa des Matthäusevangeliums zu Mk; ich halte den von Henderson gewählten Begriff des „rewritten Gospel“ für deswegen zu kurz gegriffen, weil er sich alleine an der schriftlichen Dimension der Produktion solcher Evangelien orientiert, dabei aber ignoriert, dass diese wohl in breitere Kontexte des Erzählens und (dabei) imaginativ „In-Szene-Setzens“ der Texte einzuordnen sein dürften.

**35** Zur folgenden Passage vgl. auch das (noch einmal deutlich umfangreichere) Material in Tobias Nicklas, „Rezeption und Entwicklung johanneischer Motive im Petrus-evangelium“, in *Studien zu Matthäus und Johannes/Études sur Matthieu et Jean. Festschrift für Jean Zumstein zum 65. Geburtstag*, hg. Andreas Dettwiler und Uta Poplutz, AThANT 97, (Zürich: TVZ; 2009), 361–76.



tauchen im Petrus-evangelium an mehreren Stellen Motive auf, die ansonsten nur bei Johannes belegt sind, dort jedoch in einer anderen, häufig theologisch tiefer reflektierten Funktion. Die vielleicht auffälligste Parallele findet sich in Vers 14:<sup>36</sup>

EvPe 14

Καὶ ἀγανακτήσαντες ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐκέλεθσαν ἵνα μὴ σκελοκοπηθῇ,  
ὅπως βασαντιζόμενος ἀποθάνοι.

*Da gerieten sie in große Aufregung über ihn und befahlen, dass (ihm) nicht die Schenkel gebrochen würden, damit er unter Qualen sterbe.*

Auch wenn der Bezug der Worte ἐπ' αὐτῷ unklar ist und rein grammatikalisch auch der in Vers 13 auftretende Übeltäter gemeint sein könnte, der Jesus als „Retter der Menschen“ bezeichnet, ist es doch sehr wahrscheinlich, dass sich die hier geschilderte Aktion auf den gekreuzigten Kyrios bezieht: Es wird Befehl erlassen, dass ihm die Schenkel nicht gebrochen werden, damit er unter Qualen sterbe. Die konkrete Formulierung ist alles andere als wörtlich an einer neutestamentlichen Vorlage orientiert: Bei dem Verb σκελοκοπέω handelt es sich um ein absolutes *Hapax legomenon*, d. h. ein Wort, das ansonsten im gesamten antiken Sprachgebrauch nicht belegt ist. Zudem ist die Kombination von der im Neuen Testament ungewöhnlichen Konjunktion ὅπως und ἀποθάνοι im Optativ eher an klassischem denn an neutestamentlichem Sprachgebrauch orientiert. Trotzdem erinnert die Szene natürlich an Joh 19,31–33, wo den Gekreuzigten die Schenkel zerschlagen werden (3 x κατ'άγνθμι + τὰ σκέλη) sollen, um sie vor dem Anbruch des Pesachfestes sterben zu lassen und ihre Leichen abnehmen zu können. Bereits die Unterschiede sowohl in der konkreten Formulierung als auch in der Situierung der Szene – beim EvPe vor dem Tode Jesu, bei Joh nach seinem Tode – sind jedoch so weitgehend, dass die Vorstellung, dem Autor des Petrus-evangeliums sei bei der Niederschrift seines Texts das Johannesevangelium in schriftlicher Form vorgelegen und er habe es – in klassischem Sinne – redaktionell bearbeiten wollen, höchst unwahrscheinlich wirkt. Bedenkt man zusätzlich die vollkommen unterschiedlichen Deutungen der Szenen – EvPe 14 sucht einfach die Grausamkeit der den Kyrios kreuzigenden „Juden“ zu illustrieren, während für Joh 19,31–36 Jesus (wohl) als wahres Pesach-Lamm gekreuzigt wird, an dem kein Gebein zerbrochen werden soll (Joh 19,36; vgl. Ex 12,46; Ps 34,21)<sup>37</sup> –, dann müssten wir, falls

**36** Texte und Übersetzungen des Petrus-evangeliums nach Thomas J. Kraus und Tobias Nicklas, Hg., *Das Petrus-evangelium und die Petrusapokalypse: Die griechischen Fragmente mit deutscher und englischer Übersetzung*, GCS.NF 11 (Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 2004).

**37** Die Deutung der Szene ist natürlich umstritten. Ich halte es jedoch weiterhin für sehr wahrscheinlich, dass – auch wenn Ps 34 zitiert ist – Pesachterminologie vorliegt.



wir das literarische Verhältnis der beiden Texte im klassischen Redaktionsmodell erklären wollten, es beim Autor des EvPe schon mit einem außergewöhnlich unsensiblen Theologen zu tun haben.<sup>38</sup> Dass beide Texte nun aber gar nichts miteinander zu tun haben, scheint ebenso unwahrscheinlich, zeigen sich doch Bezüge auch an anderen Passagen wie der Datierung der Kreuzigung vor dem Pesachfest (EvPe 5), dem möglichen Bezug von EvPe 7 („und setzten ihn auf den Richtstuhl“) auf Joh 19,13, der Erwähnung des „Garten Joseph“ (EvPe 24) und anderer. Eine Erklärung dieses Sachverhalts scheint mir deswegen darin zu liegen, dass dem Verfasser des Petrus-evangeliums (und womöglich auch den angezielten Erstadressaten) das Johannesevangelium nicht in schriftlicher Form vorlag bzw. dieses bei der Niederschrift des EvPe nicht in schriftlicher Form herangezogen wurde, dass jedoch die johanneische Fassung der Passionsgeschichte Jesu als eine Form der Geschichte von Jesu Leiden bekannt war und sich dabei eine Reihe von Motiven eingeprägt hatte, ohne dass ihre konkrete Funktion im johanneischen Text erinnert wurde. Mit anderen Worten: Der Rahmen sozial erinnelter Passionserzählung Jesu enthielt zur Zeit und am Ort der Niederschrift des Petrus-evangeliums johanneische Motive, die in eine „Neu-Erzählung“ bzw. „Neuinszenierung“ dieser Geschichte einzubauen waren, wenn diese Glaubwürdigkeit beanspruchen wollte. Ihr konkreter Ort und ihre konkrete Funktion waren jedoch nicht so fest verankert, dass sie nicht in neue – aus unserer Sicht theologisch deutlich weniger wertvolle – Kontexte und mit neuer Funktion eingebaut werden konnten.

Die Bandbreite von Texten des 2. Jahrhunderts, die sich in vergleichbarem Sinne als „Neuinszenierungen“ auffassen lassen, welche mit einiger Wahrscheinlichkeit schriftliche Vorlagen (dann wohl der kanonisch gewordenen Evangelien) voraussetzen, bei denen aber die Rede von einem Redaktionsprozess an diesen Vorlagen kaum Sinn macht, ist groß. Ein besonders klares Beispiel ist die Szene von der Heilung eines Aussätzigen im unbekannten Evangelium auf Papyrus Egerton 2, die einerseits wörtliche Parallelen zu allen synoptischen Parallelen von Mk 1,40–45 par. aufweist, welche andererseits aber nirgends so weit gehen, dass klar wird, welcher der drei Paralleltexte denn nun die entscheidende Vorlage ausgemacht haben könnte.<sup>39</sup> Gleichzeitig wird klar, dass die Variationsbreite der synoptischen Erzählungen unter sich deutlich geringer ausfällt als im Verhältnis zum „unbekannten Evangelium“. So setzt die „apokryphe“ Erzählung eigene Schwerpunkte wie die Erzählung des Kranken, er habe Kontakt

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<sup>38</sup> Dies heißt nicht, dass ich den Autor der EvPe umgekehrt als einen außergewöhnlich sensiblen Denker verstehe.

<sup>39</sup> Vgl. hierzu die Übersicht bei Tobias Nicklas, „Das ‚unbekannte Evangelium‘ auf P.Egerton 2 und die ‚Schrift‘,“ in *SNTU* 33 (2008) 41–65, hier 56–61.

mit anderen Aussätzigen gepflegt, und die Aufforderung Jesu an ihn, nicht mehr zu sündigen. Wo man nicht so weit gehen will, das „unbekannte Evangelium“ als einer Vorstufe der synoptischen Tradition angehörig zu beschreiben, macht meines Erachtens zumindest hier ebenfalls die Rede von einer „Neuinszenierung“ Sinn: Die Erzählung auf Papyrus Egerton 2 stimmt mit den synoptischen im Grunde genau in den Motiven überein, die dazu nötig sind, eine Jesusgeschichte von der Heilung eines Aussätzigen zu erzählen, die an die genannten synoptischen Erzählungen erinnert.<sup>40</sup> Gleichzeitig zeigt die neue Geschichte durchaus Zeichen eines Aneignungsprozesses und eigene Schwerpunkte, die deswegen aber nicht als redaktionell bestimmbare Kritik bzw. Auseinandersetzung mit schriftlichen Vorlagen bestimmt werden müssen. Ich denke hier daran, dass der Jesus des „unbekannten Evangeliums“ den Aussätzigen nicht berührt (um eigene Unreinheit zu vermeiden?) und dass seine Erkrankung wohl als Folge einer Sünde (wohl des Verkehrs mit Unreinen) verstanden ist.

### 3 Kreative Neuschöpfung

Zu den immer wieder zu lesenden Vorurteilen gegenüber apokryphen Erzählungen gehört es, diese Texte als das Ergebnis phantasievoll erfundener Erzählungen zu deuten, die Lücken im Leben Jesu, zum Beispiel seiner Kindheitsgeschichte, zu füllen suchen. Zwar ist es nicht ausgeschlossen, dass auch derartige Motive eine Rolle bei der Entstehung manchen Textes gespielt haben mögen – ich denke jedoch, dass sie bei genauerem Hinsehen auch da, wo von der Neuschöpfung von Texten die Rede sein kann, recht weit zurücktreten.

Erneut erlaubt der vorgegebene Rahmen nur die Diskussion zweier Beispiele:

#### 3.1 Jordan-Wunder

Nicht alle der im eben erwähnten „unbekannten Evangelium“ auf Papyrus Egerton 2 zu findenden Jesus-Szenen finden Parallelen im Neuen Testament. Zu den rätselhaftesten und deswegen auch kaum rekonstruierbaren Passagen gehören die wenigen Worte, die sich auf Fragment 2 verso finden und die ein Jesuswunder am Ufer des Jordans erzählen. Erst vor wenigen Monaten hat nun jedoch Lorne Zelyck einen meines Erachtens überzeugenden Vorschlag der Rekonstruktion der

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<sup>40</sup> Diese Beobachtung geht schon auf Carol Kellas, „The Healing of the Leper: The Accounts in the Synoptic Gospels and Papyrus Egerton 2,“ in *Irish Biblical Studies* 16 (1994) 161–73, zurück.

entscheidenden Passagen dieses Textes vorgelegt.<sup>41</sup> Anders als alle Herausgeber und Kommentatoren vor ihm verweist Zelyck auf Parallelen zu am Jordan lokalisierten Wundern des Propheten Elisha in den Königsbüchern (2 Kön 2,13 und 6,7) sowie – noch konkreter – der Darstellung von 2 Kön 2,19–22 bei Josephus. Das in Frg. 2 verso erkennbare Wunder arbeite mit Hilfe von Elisha-Typologie und lasse sich deswegen folgendermaßen rekonstruieren:<sup>42</sup>

(1) Τότε περιπατῶν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐστάθη ἐπὶ τοῦ χεῖλους τοῦ Ἰορδάνου ποταμοῦ. (2) καὶ ἐκτείνας τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ τὴν δεξιάν (3) ἐκόμισεν ἅλας (4) καὶ κατέσπειρεν ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμόν (5) καὶ τότε αὐτὸς κατεχέεν ἱκανόν ὕδωρ ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν προσεῦξάτο καὶ ἐπληρώθη ἐνώπιον αὐτῶν (6) ἐξήγαγεν δὲ καρπόν.

(1) Damals blieb Jesus, als er ging, am Ufer des Flusses Jordan stehen (2) und er streckte seine rechte Hand aus, (3) nahm Salz (4) und säte es auf den Fluss. (5) Dann goss er genügend Wasser auf die Erde, betete und es wurde vor ihnen erfüllt, (6) es brachte Frucht.

Die hier beschriebene Szene ist trotz der natürlich zum Beispiel für jesuanische Gleichnisse bedeutsamen Rede von „Frucht bringen“ (zum Beispiel Mk 4,7.8.29) in ihrem Gesamt nicht von einer Erzählung der kanonischen Evangelien beeinflusst. Ob das „unbekannte Evangelium“ sie als eine in der Gegend des Jordan beheimatete Lokaltradition übernommen (und eventuell bearbeitet) oder sie selbst entwickelt hat, können wir heute nicht mehr entscheiden. Da es gleichzeitig recht unwahrscheinlich wirkt, dass ein solches Wunder tatsächlich Erinnerung an ein mit dem historischen Jesus verbundenes Ereignis bewahrt, kann in diesem Fall von der „Neuschöpfung“ einer Erzählung – entweder in der dem „unbekannten Evangelium“ vorliegenden Tradition oder bei dessen Entstehung selbst – gesprochen werden. Natürlich können über die Gründe, die zur Konstruktion einer solchen Erzählung geführt haben mögen, nur Vermutungen angestellt werden. Vielleicht jedoch ist daran zu denken, dass der Text in einer Zeit, in der verschiedene Texte – natürlich auch die kanonischen Evangelien – und, damit verbunden, wohl auch verschiedene Gruppen das Wirken Jesu im Lichte von Figuren des Alten Testaments wie David, Elija oder Mose deuteten, in Kontexten aufgenommen ist, in denen neben die Diskussion, ob und inwiefern Jesus als wiedererschienener Elija zu verstehen sei, auch die Überlegung trat, inwiefern er auch mit seinem Schüler Elisha und dessen Handeln zu verbinden sei. Vielleicht sollte,

<sup>41</sup> Für das Folgende vgl. Lorne R. Zelyck, „Elisha Typology in Jesus' Miracle on the Jordan River (Papyrus Egerton 2, 2v6–14),“ in *NTS* 62 (2016) 149–56.

<sup>42</sup> Zelyck, „Elisha“ (Anm. 41), 153. Ich gebe im Folgenden, da ich keine Edition biete, nicht an, welche Buchstaben unsicher zu lesen sind, werde allerdings zwischen Ergänzungen von Lakunen und den auf dem Fragment befindlichen Textpassagen differenzieren.

wenn wir Zelycks Rekonstruktion vertrauen wollen, Motivik um die Elisha-Erzählung vom Salzwunder (2 Kön 2,21–22) in den Kontext der Botschaft Jesu von der Königsherrschaft Gottes, welche jedoch für den erhaltenen Text des „unbekannten Evangeliums“ zumindest nicht explizit eine Rolle spielt, eingebettet werden. Vielleicht lässt sich diesen Argumenten auf anderer Ebene hinzufügen, dass die synoptischen Evangelien zwar einen Jesus verkünden, der einen Weg von Norden nach Jerusalem unternimmt, dabei aber nicht an jedem Ort wirksam wird, und dass zudem das vierte Evangelium Jesus immer wieder in der Nähe des Jordan (Joh 1,28; 3,26; 10,40) lokalisiert, dabei aber auch Raum für weitere Ereignisse lässt. Trotzdem halte ich die Frage, wie denn nun bestimmte Leerstellen in der Biographie Jesu möglichst phantasievoll zu füllen seien, für die Entstehung des hier vorliegenden Textes für unbedeutend. Eher mag es darum gehen, dass verschiedene Orte Lokaltraditionen über das Wirken Jesu entwickelten, ohne dass diese sich bereits in eine breitere Biographie einordnen würden. Während der Text uns hier keine entsprechenden Anhaltspunkte liefert, sei auf ein anderes Beispiel verwiesen: Ebenfalls mit dem Fluss Jordan, zudem aber mit den Orten Jericho und Gilgal verbunden ist ein Wunder Jesu, welches sowohl bei dem Pilger Theodosios (§§ 1 und 18), als auch ausführlicher beim Pilger von Piacenza (§ 13) genannt wird.<sup>43</sup> Letzterer schreibt:

Die Steine, die die Israeliten aus dem Jordan mitnahmen, sind nicht weit von der Stadt Jericho in einer Basilika hinter dem Altar aufgestellt; sie sind sehr groß. Vor der Basilika ist ein Feld, der Acker des Herrn, den der Herr mit eigener Hand besät hat; er bringt bis zu drei Scheffel Saat und wird zweimal im Jahr abgeerntet. Er wird niemals besät, vielmehr wächst es von selber. Geerntet wird im Februar und davon zu Ostern kommuniziert. Sobald die Ernte eingebracht ist, wird umgepflügt und dann erneut von der übrigen Ernte eingebracht; darauf wird gepflügt und die Sache so belassen.<sup>44</sup>

Auch wenn der eben genannte Text erst recht spät belegt ist (6. Jahrhundert), macht er noch mehr als die Passage im „unbekannten Evangelium“ deutlich, dass einem an einem bestimmten Ort zu lokalisierenden „Wunder“ auch eine praktische Funktion zukommen kann: Was ein Jesuslogion wie die Rede vom Weizenkorn, das in die Erde fallen und damit „sterben“ muss, um reiche Frucht zu bringen (Joh 12,24–25),<sup>45</sup> das im frühen Christentum auf vielfältige Weise mit der

<sup>43</sup> Zur Einleitung in diese Schrift des späten 6. Jahrhunderts (um 570) vgl. Herbert Donner, *Pilgerfahrt ins Heilige Land. Die ältesten Berichte christlicher Palästina-pilger (4.–7. Jh.)* (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 32011 [2002]), 226–42.

<sup>44</sup> Übersetzung Donner, *Pilgerfahrt* (Anm. 43), 255–56.

<sup>45</sup> Weitere Parallelen in den Synoptikern vgl. Mk 4,3–9.26–29.30–32; Mt 13,3–9.24–30.31–32; Lk 8,4–8; 13,18–19.

Vorstellung der Auferstehung der Toten (vgl. v. a. 1 Kor 15,37–38, aber auch Apokalypse des Petrus 4)<sup>46</sup> in Verbindung gebracht wurde, auf bildlich-abstrakte Weise zum Ausdruck bringt, sucht das Wunder vom „Acker des Herrn“ ganz offenbar konkret zu illustrieren: „Der Herr“ habe hier selbst gesät und weiterhin bringe der Acker seine Frucht, die nun aber alleine für einen Zweck verwendet wird: die Kommunion bei der Feier des Osterfests, an dem genau das Ereignis begangen wird, welches im Wort vom Weizenkorn bildlich angedeutet ist. Mit anderen Worten: Das hier erzählte Wunder macht somit ein Jesuslogion einerseits an einem konkreten Ort „fassbar“ – und andererseits gleichzeitig wieder, wenn auch auf greifbare Weise, zum Symbol dessen, was es ursprünglich ausdrücken wollte. Auch wenn ich nicht wage, im Falle des von Zelyck rekonstruierten Texts so weitgehende Spekulationen anzugehen, ist der Einfluss einer dann in ihrer konkreten Funktion heute nicht mehr fassbaren Lokaltradition auch hier nicht auszuschließen.

### 3.2 Kindheitserzählungen

Besonders die apokryphen Kindheitserzählungen stehen unter dem Generalverdacht, dass es sich bei den in ihnen erzählten Jesus-Geschichten um Erzählungen ohne Tiefgang handelt, die rein die Phantasie und Wundersucht einfacher Gläubiger zu befriedigen suchen. Dass auch das Interesse an wunderbaren Ereignissen um die Geburt und die Kindheit Jesu im Hintergrund der Erzählungen (durchaus aber auch bereits des Mt und Lk) steht, möchte ich nicht bestreiten. Zu den zumindest in unserer Zeit üblicherweise als besonders problematisch empfundenen Texten gehören die auch als Kindheitsevangeliem des Thomas bekannten Paidika, die in der Antike jedoch offenbar so beliebt waren, dass sie in einer Vielzahl von Textformen und Versionen vorliegen.<sup>47</sup> Während in einer Schrift wie dem Protevangelium Jacobi doch an vielen Stellen das Interesse an narrativer Interpretation der Schrift wie auch an Fragen ritueller Reinheit im Hintergrund der Entstehung mancher Passage spürbar ist,<sup>48</sup> sind die Motive, die hinter der Entwicklung mancher Erzählungen der Paidika stehen, deutlich schwerer zu erkennen. Ich würde doch auch hier sagen,

<sup>46</sup> Vgl. z. B. Tobias Nicklas, „Resurrection – Judgment – Punishment: Apocalypse of Peter 4,“ in *Resurrection of the Dead. Biblical Traditions in Dialogue*, hg. Geert van Oyen und Tom Shepherd, BETL 240 (Leuven: Peeters, 2012), 461–474, hier 472.

<sup>47</sup> Zu Einleitungsfragen vgl. Ursula U. Kaiser (unter Mitwirkung von Josef Tropper), „Die Kindheitserzählung des Thomas,“ in *Antike christliche Apokryphen* (Anm. 10), 930–959, hier 930–942.

<sup>48</sup> Hierzu einschlägig Lily C. Vuong, *Gender and Purity in the Protevangelium of James*, WUNT II.358 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013).

dass es den Texten nicht nur um die Produktion neuer, möglichst phantastischer Details aus der Kindheit Jesu geht. In einigen Fällen (zum Beispiel um die Erzählungen vom Kind Jesu in der Schule) mag, wie Stephen J. Davis gezeigt hat, wie bei den eben genannten Beispielen auch die Entstehung antik-christlicher Erinnerungslandschaften (zum Beispiel in Nazareth) einen Teil des Einflusses gebildet haben.<sup>49</sup> In wenigstens einigen anderen Fällen sehe ich den Versuch, eine narrative Antwort auf die Frage zu geben, was es denn konkret bedeutet, dass Jesus von Nazareth schon von seiner Kindheit an als der göttliche Sohn Gottes verstanden werden muss – oder noch radikaler, was es denn bedeutet, dass das Wort Gottes, durch das die Welt erschaffen ist, und welches diese letztendlich richten wird, nicht nur „Fleisch“, sondern auf diese Weise Kind, ja Kleinkind wird. Dass die Antworten des Textes auf diese Frage normalerweise nicht nach unserem Geschmack sind, mag zudem damit zu tun haben, dass hier, wie Reidar Aasgard betont, Theologie der „Second Church“ bzw. Theologie für einfache Menschen – eventuell gar mit dem Blick auf Kindern – betrieben wird.<sup>50</sup> Auch wenn der Text keinen Bezug auf den Johannesprolog nimmt, ist doch bereits von Beginn an auffällig, welche Titel hier nebeneinander verwendet werden:<sup>51</sup> In ihrem Prolog nimmt die Schrift für sich in Anspruch, die Dinge zu beschreiben, die „unser Herr Jesus der Christus“ (ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστός) tat, „nachdem er in unserer Region Betlehem im Dorf Nazaret geboren wurde.“ Die Erzählung ist also aus der Perspektive heraus verfasst, dass Jesus als „der Herr“ bzw. „der Christus“ verstanden wird. Unmittelbar nach dem Prolog ändert sich diese aber radikal – der Text spricht nun vom παῖδιον Ἰησοῦς, dem „Kind Jesus“, macht aber unmittelbar klar, dass es sich bei diesem Fünfjährigen zwar um ein Kind handelt, diesem jedoch „göttliche Macht“ zukommt. Das Zueinander wird bereits in § 2 sehr deutlich, wo davon die Rede ist, dass das „Kind Jesus“ an einem Fluss „spielt“ (ἐπαίζεν) und dabei (im Grunde auch wie im kindlichen

<sup>49</sup> Vgl. Stephan J. Davis, *Christ Child: Cultural Memories of a Young Jesus* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2014).

<sup>50</sup> Die Idee, der Text sei als Buch für Kinder konzipiert, vertritt Aasgard in Reidar Aasgard, *The Childhood of Jesus: Decoding the Apocryphal Infancy Gospel of Thomas* (Eugene, Or.: Cascade, 2009); zur Verbindung von Paidika und der von Ramsey MacMullen, *The Second Church: Popular Christianity A.D. 200–400*, SBL Writings from the Greco-Roman World (Atlanta: Scholars, 2010) vertretenen Konzepts einer „Second Church“ (die gleichzeitig die eigentliche Mehrheitskirche ausmache), vgl. Reidar Aasgard, „The Protevangelium of James and the Infancy Gospel of Thomas: Orthodoxy from Above or Heterodoxy from Below?“, in Tobias Nicklas, *The Other Side: Apocryphal Perspectives on Ancient Christian Orthodoxies*, hg. Tobias Nicklas u.a., NTOA 117 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2017), 75–97.

<sup>51</sup> Da der Text der Paidika in verschiedenen Handschriften sehr unterschiedlich überliefert ist, was die Edition enorm erschwert, folge ich bei der Zitation dem auch für Aasgard entscheidenden Text von Codex Sabaiticus 259 (fol 66r–72v). Vgl. Aasgard, *Childhood* (Anm. 50), 219–32.

Spiel) kleine Teiche baut. Gleichzeitig jedoch macht (ἐποίει) er diese Wasser „rein und frisch“ und kann sie alleine mit Hilfe seines Wortes (λόγου μόνον) lenken. Doch auch weiter begegnen wir einer ähnlichen Konstellation: Auch in § 2.3 wird Jesus zwei Mal explizit als παιδίον Ἰησοῦς angesprochen. Dieses Kind wiederum macht aus Lehm einen Teig, aus dem es daraufhin zwölf Spatzen formt (ἔπλασεν). Weil dies aber an einem Sabbat geschieht, denunziert eines der dabei stehenden Kinder Jesus bei seinem Vater Joseph, welcher Jesus daraufhin zur Rechenschaft zieht (§ 2.4), worauf dieser bekanntlich in die Hände klatscht und auf seinen Befehl hin die Vögel aus Lehm wegfliegen und die Umstehenden sich wundern (§ 2.5). Natürlich ist das kein theologisch tiefgründiger Text: Will die Wunderhandlung Jesu als Antwort auf die vorwurfsvolle Frage Josephs – „Warum tust du dies an einem Sabbat?“ – auffassen, dann ist damit implizit gesagt: Das „Kind Jesus“ ist der Schöpfer – oder zumindest wirkt dieser in ihm –, welcher einst den Menschen aus Lehm erschaffen hat und welcher, solange er weiter schöpferisch tätig ist, nicht an das Sabbatgebot gebunden ist.<sup>52</sup> Die folgenden Szenen wiederum setzen den Schwerpunkt etwas anders: Als der Sohn des Hohepriesters Hannas Jesus nicht nur den fast wortgleichen Vorwurf wie vorher sein Vater macht und dabei zudem sein Werk – die verschiedenen Teiche – zerstört, verflucht ihn Jesus. Der Junge, beschrieben als „jenes Kind“, stirbt. Ähnliches wird auch in § 5 erzählt, wo ein Fluch Jesu ein Kind tötet, welches ihn nur an der Schulter stößt. Als dessen Eltern Joseph wegen „dieses Kinds“ – wieder wird Jesus als παιδίον bezeichnet – Vorwürfe machen und ihn aus dem Dorf werfen wollen, werden auch sie mit Blindheit bestraft. Joseph zieht Jesus dafür kräftig am Ohr – der heutige Leser muss überlegen, ob der Text hier wirklich ernst gemeint ist –, er wird von Jesus als „unklug“ angesprochen; dieser fügt sich aber, weil er in Josephs Hände gegeben ist. Während für die Szenenfolge in § 2 die Verbindung von Kind und Schöpfer entscheidend war, scheint nun die Idee, dass dieses Kind auch der Weltenrichter ist, in den Mittelpunkt zu rücken. Mit der Auseinandersetzung um den Sohn des Hannas schließlich werden Konflikte, die die Passionsgeschichte beeinflussen werden, in die Kindheit Jesu hineinprojiziert. Damit ist sicherlich noch nicht die gesamte Entstehung des in seiner Überlieferung zudem äußerst vielfältigen Kindheitsevangeliums des Thomas erklärt. Vielleicht zeigen jedoch auch bereits diese wenigen Beispiele, dass die neugeschaffenen Jesuserzählungen dieses Texts, auch wenn ihre narrativen Antworten uns heute nicht mehr zu überzeugen vermögen, einen konkreten Anlass haben, der weit über das reine Interesse, Lücken im Leben Jesu zu füllen, hinaus geht. Sie wollen sich mit der

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<sup>52</sup> Letzteres fände eine Parallele in den Sabbatwundern des Johannesevangeliums und ihrer Deutung (vgl. z. B. Joh 5,17).

theologisch bedeutsamen Frage, wie die Inkarnation des Schöpfers, Weltenrichters, Allweisen etc. konkret zu denken ist, auseinanderzusetzen.

## 4 Fazit

Natürlich ist die Einteilung der erzählenden Evangelien des 2. Jahrhunderts in die genannten drei Kategorien künstlich; wahrscheinlich sind in den meisten der genannten Texte gleich mehrere der diskutierten Faktoren gleichzeitig, nebeneinander und vielleicht sogar miteinander vermischt von Bedeutung. Allerdings zeigt sich jedoch recht deutlich, dass die klassische und immer wieder zu hörende bzw. zu lesende Meinung, apokryphe Evangelien seien vor allem deswegen entstanden, um die Lücken in den kanonischen Evangelien auf möglichst phantasiervolle Weise zu schließen, schlichtweg falsch ist, während das Paradigma redaktionskritischer Erklärungen (im engeren Sinne) in vielen Fällen zu kurz greift.

Vor allem aber sollten die erkennbaren Interessen, die zur redaktionellen Bearbeitung, Neuinszenierung und Neuschöpfung von Texten geführt haben, auch in ihrer theologischen und damit geistesgeschichtlichen Bedeutung nicht unterschätzt werden. Damit aber ist auch wenigstens in Andeutung eine Spur gelegt, die eine Antwort auf die Frage geben kann, warum es denn überhaupt zu solch einer Vielfalt von Evangelien kam bzw. kommen musste und warum ab einem bestimmten Punkt zumindest in der werdenden „Proto-Orthodoxie“ deutliche Grenzen gezogen wurden: Die Vielfalt erzählender Evangelien des zweiten und zum Teil noch dritten Jahrhunderts unserer Zeitrechnung hat mit der Vielfalt der Gruppen, die sich auf unterschiedliche Weise als Jesus- bzw. Christusanhänger verstanden, wie auch der Vielfalt der Fragen, mit denen sie konfrontiert wurden, zu tun. Obwohl sich durch die Entstehung und wachsende Autorisierung bereits vorliegender Evangelien eine „Grunderzählung“ des Lebens und Wirkens Jesu herauskristallisierte, die neuen Erzählungen Grenzen setzte und mehr und mehr verlangte, bestimmte Motive in diese zu integrieren, bot diese (imaginierte) „Erzählung“ auch weiterhin Möglichkeiten der Variation, die erlaubte, eigene Akzente zu setzen. Wo darüber hinaus neue Jesuserzählungen entstanden, mögen sich diese zwar in Lücken der großen „Jesuserzählung“ einfügen, sie motivieren sich jedoch nicht alleine aufgrund frommer Phantasien, sondern suchen in erzählender Weise Antworten auf bedeutsame Fragen von Theologie und Identitätsbildung zu geben.



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